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THE WORD BMH IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

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FOREWORD

> "When I use a word," Humpty-Dumpty said, "it means just what I choose it to mean--neither more nor less."
>
> Through the Looking-Glass, ch. 6

Although a dissertation is ultimately the work and responsibility of its author, the contribution of others will be felt in the course of its preparation and execution. This example of the genre is no exception. I am especially grateful to Professor Dennis G. Pardee for his philological counsel and bibliographical generosity, to Professor Gösta W. Ahlström, my principal advisor, for his critical guidance and unfailing encouragement--and to my wife Ginni for patiently enduring it all. These debts are impossible to adequately repay.

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INTRODUCTION

The traditional interpretation of the Hebrew word BMH[1] derives from the Vulgate which translates it by forms of excelsus, "high."[2] Elsewhere in the Vulgate this term serves almost exclusively to denote majestic or concrete high-ness;[3] the latter is certainly the intended sense here. The English rendering high place, conventional since the Coverdale Bible (1535), can be traced directly to the Latin and to Luther's Höhe (itself dependent upon the Latin); it did not arise from an independent study of the Hebrew original. The modern era of biblical scholarship inherited this understanding of BMH as signifying physical elevation, particularly in a topographical sense, and with it a view as to the etymology of the word. BMH has no known verbal root in Hebrew, but on the basis of the irreducible *qameṣ* in *bāmâ*/*bāmôt* the root *BWM (cf. QWM : *qāmâ*) had been adduced.[1] With classic circular reasoning it is claimed, *ex hypothesi*, that this nonexistent verb means "to be high,"[2] thereby accounting for the presumed meaning of the noun.

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[1] Hebrew words, as a rule, are referred to in this manner hereinafter except when specific forms or vocalizations are under discussion and when Hebrew termonology is used neologistically in the English text: e.g., BMH (the word), bāmâ (a vocalization), bamah (the cultic installation).

[2] The occasional exceptions evince no discernible pattern (in contrast to the LXX and Targ.); most are obvious stylistic accommodations or are dependent upon an earlier Version.

[3] Cf. C. Huré, Dictionnaire Universel de Philologie Sacrée, Vol. II, Encyclopedia Theologique, Vol. VI (Paris: Ateliers Catholiques du Petit-Montrouge, 1846), cols. 138ff. These are the only meanings given in the Oxford Latin Dictionary, fascicle 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 633.

The decipherment of Akkadian cuneiform in the mid-nineteenth century brought a new piece of philological evidence into the discussion. Edwin Norris, Friedrich Delitzsch, and other pioneer Akkadian lexicographers immediately saw the topographical plural *bamâtu* as cognate to BMH and defined it accordingly ("summits, heights";

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[1] E.g., S. Pagninus, *Epitome Thesauri Linguae Sanctae*, 3d. ed. (Antwerp: C. Plantin, 1578), p. 30; J. Habermann, *Liber Radicum seu Lexicon Ebraicum* (Wittenberg: I. Cratonis, 1589), p. 72; V. Schindler, *Lexicon Pentaglotton* (Frankfurt: W. Röderum, 1695), col. 170; W. Gesenius, *Thesaurus Philologicus Criticus Linguae Hebraeae et Chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti* (Leipzig: F. C. G. Vogel, 1829), I, 187, and successive editions of his *Handwörterbuch*.

[2] Cf. the ingenuity of J. Fuerst, *A Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament*, 3d ed., trans. by S. Davidson (London: Williams and Norgate, 1867), p. 187.

"Höhen").[1] This datum, in turn, entered Hebrew lexica[2] and biblical encyclopedias[3] as confirmation that BMH is a topographical term denoting "high, rising ground."[4] In addition, the existence of a bona fide cognate in an ancient Semitic language demonstrated that the origin of the word was not to be sought in the Gk. bōmos ("altar") as some scholars, unconvinced by *BWM, had proposed;[1] on the contrary, a Semitic derivation for the etymologically obscure Greek word now seemed plausible.[2]

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[1] E. Norris, Assyrian Dictionary, I (London: Williams and Norgate, 1868), 104; Fr. Delitzsch, Assyrisches Handwörterbuch (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1896), p. 177; W. Muss-Arnolt, A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language (London: Williams and Norgate, 1905), p. 172.

[2] It entered the Gesenius tradition in the 10th edition of the Handwörterbuch (1886). Cf. also Fr. Delitzsch, Prolegomena eines neuen hebräisch-aramäischen Wörterbuchs zum Alten Testament (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1886), p. 46; F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), p. 119.

[3] E.g., W. C. Allen, "High Place," A Dictionary of the Bible, ed. by J. Hastings, II (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1899), 381; G. F. Moore, "High Place," Encyclopedia Biblica, ed. by T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black, Vol. II (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1901), col. 2064; F. Prat, "Hauts-Lieux," Dictionnarie de la Bible, ed. by F. Vigouroux, Vol. III (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1903), col. 449; E. Hirsch, "High Place," The Jewish Encyclopedia, ed. by I. Singer et al., VI (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1904), 387; G. W. Gilmore, "High Place," The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, ed. by S. M. Jackson et al., V (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1909), 277; G. L. Robinson, "High Place," Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. by J. Hastings, VI (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1914), 678.

[4] Allen, "High Place," p. 381.

In 1932 Charles Virolleaud and René Dussaud published text 4(51).4 from Ras Shamra (Ugarit)[3] containing the word bmt (11. 14f.) which, not surprisingly, they translated "haut-lieu."[4] Two years later Virolleaud published a second example of bmt (6[62].5), stating that "sans doute" it meant "hauteur."[5] Almost immediately, however, this interpretation gave way to that first advanced by William Foxwell Albright who saw bmt as an anatomical term comparable to Akk. bamtu, "back, trunk (of animal or man)."[1] This anatomical sense has subsequently been claimed for BMH in several biblical passages, and it is cited in the most recent Hebrew lexica as one of the standard meanings of the word.[2]

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[1] E.g., J. D. Michaelis, Supplementa ad Lexica Hebraica, VI (Göttingen: J. G. Rosenbusch, 1792), 190.

[2] Already suggested by Fuerst, Lexicon, p. 187. See the discussion in Chapter III.C below.

[3] The numbering system for the Ugaritic texts cited hereinafter is that adopted by R. E. Whitaker, A Concordance of the Ugaritic Literature (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972).

[4] C. Virolleaud, "Un nouveau Chant du Poème d'Aleĭn-Baal," Syria, XIII (1932), 136; R. Dussaud, "Le Sanctuaire et les Dieux phéniciens de Ras Shamra," RHR, CV (1932), 289.

[5] C. Virolleaud, "Fragment nouveau du Poème de Môt et Aleyan-Baal," Syria, XV (1934), 233.

The prevailing consensus maintains, therefore, that BMH can refer both to a part of the body ("back")[3] and to a part of the landscape (a "high place"). While its Akkadian cognate evidently shares this semantic duality,[4] thus far only the anatomical sense is certain in Ugaritic.[1] To reconcile these two meanings a common proto-Semitic ancestor capable of generating both of them has been posited. According to Albright (who was anticipated by Paul Haupt),[2] this ancestor is **bahmatu*, the medial *h* having quiesced to produce *ā* in the first syllable of the attested forms.[3] This should have become *ō* in Hebrew (cf. **qahlu* > **qāl* > *qōl*),[4] and suffixed forms of BMH with an initial o-vowel are found in the Qumran literature;[5] thus Albright reasons that the familiar *ā* spelling "may be due to dialectal phenomena, *ah* being preserved in some places until after the principle that an accented *ā* became *ō* had ceased to operate."[6] The

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[1] W. F. Albright, "The North-Canaanite Poems of Al'eyan Ba'al and the 'Gracious Gods'," JPOS, XIV (1934), 120 note 86; cf. idem, "More Light on the Canaanite Epic of Aleyan Baal and Mot," BASOR, L (1933), 15 note 11.

[2] E.g., L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexicon zum Alten Testament, 3d ed., I (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), 130f. (= W. L. Holladay, ed., A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971], 42).

[3] There is some disagreement as to the exact anatomical signification; see Chapters IV and V below for a full discussion. The oddest proposal to date is "buttocks" offerred, for reasons unknown, by B. Margulis, "The Psalm of Habakkuk: A Reconstruction and Interpretation," ZAW, LXXXII (1970), 437 note 89.

[4] According to W. von Soden, Akkadisches Handwörterbuch, I (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1965), 101. A different position is taken by A. L. Oppenheim et al., The Assyrian Dictionary, II (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1965), 76f. (Hereinafter cited as CAD.) See the discussion in Chapter IV.B below.

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[1] According to C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, Analecta Orientalia, XXXVIII (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965), 373. (Hereinafter cited as *UT*.) J. Aistleitner adds "Höhe (?)" on the strength of the customary, but uncertain, restoration of 4(51).7.34 (*Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache* [Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963], p. 50). See the discussion of this text in Chapter IV.A and pp. 244f. below.

[2] Cf. P. Haupt, "Critical Notes on Micah," *AJSL*, XXVI (1910), 220.

[3] W. F. Albright, "The High Place in Ancient Palestine," *SVT*, IV (1957), 256.

[4] *Ibid*. For other examples and further discussion, see Haupt, "Critical Notes," p. 220.

[5] In 1QIsa^a. 14:14; 53:9; 58:14.

[6] Albright, "High Place," p. 256; cf. p. 245.

h is preserved in such derivatives as Hebr. *b^{e}hēmâ* ("animal, beast")[1] and Ugar. *bhmt* ("cattle")[2] where the anatomical idea has been expanded from a bodily part to the entire creature, and Arab. *buhmatun* ("mass of rock") which reflects the topographical idea.[3] The basic semantic nexus, however, is high-ness or, as Roland de Vaux has put it, "something which stands out in relief from its background."[4] Anatomical and topographical elevation are to be seen, therefore, as natural semantic developments from this one abstract concept.

Over four-fifths of the some 100 occurrences of BMH in the MT refer to places where cultic acts were performed, i.e., to cultic installations of some sort. Speculation about the nature of these installations has proceeded from the aforementioned etymological considerations, as can be seen by presenting the essentials of the discussion in diagrammatic form (Fig. 1):[1]

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[1] Cf. P. H. Vaughan, *The Meaning of "bāmâ" in the Old Testament*, Society for Old Testament Study Monograph Series, III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 20ff. Koehler and Baumgartner, *Lexicon*, p. 107, notes also Arab. *bahmat/bahīmat* ("Tier, Grossvieh") and *biham* ("Lamm, Schaf").

[2] *UT*, No. 450a (p. 371).

[3] Cf. Haupt, "Critical Notes," p. 220; Albright, "High Place," pp. 256f. This word is very obscure; see E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, I, pt. 1 (London: Williams and Norgate, 1863), 268, and Vaughan, *Meaning*, pp. 26f.

[4] R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*, trans. by J. McHugh (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961), p. 284.

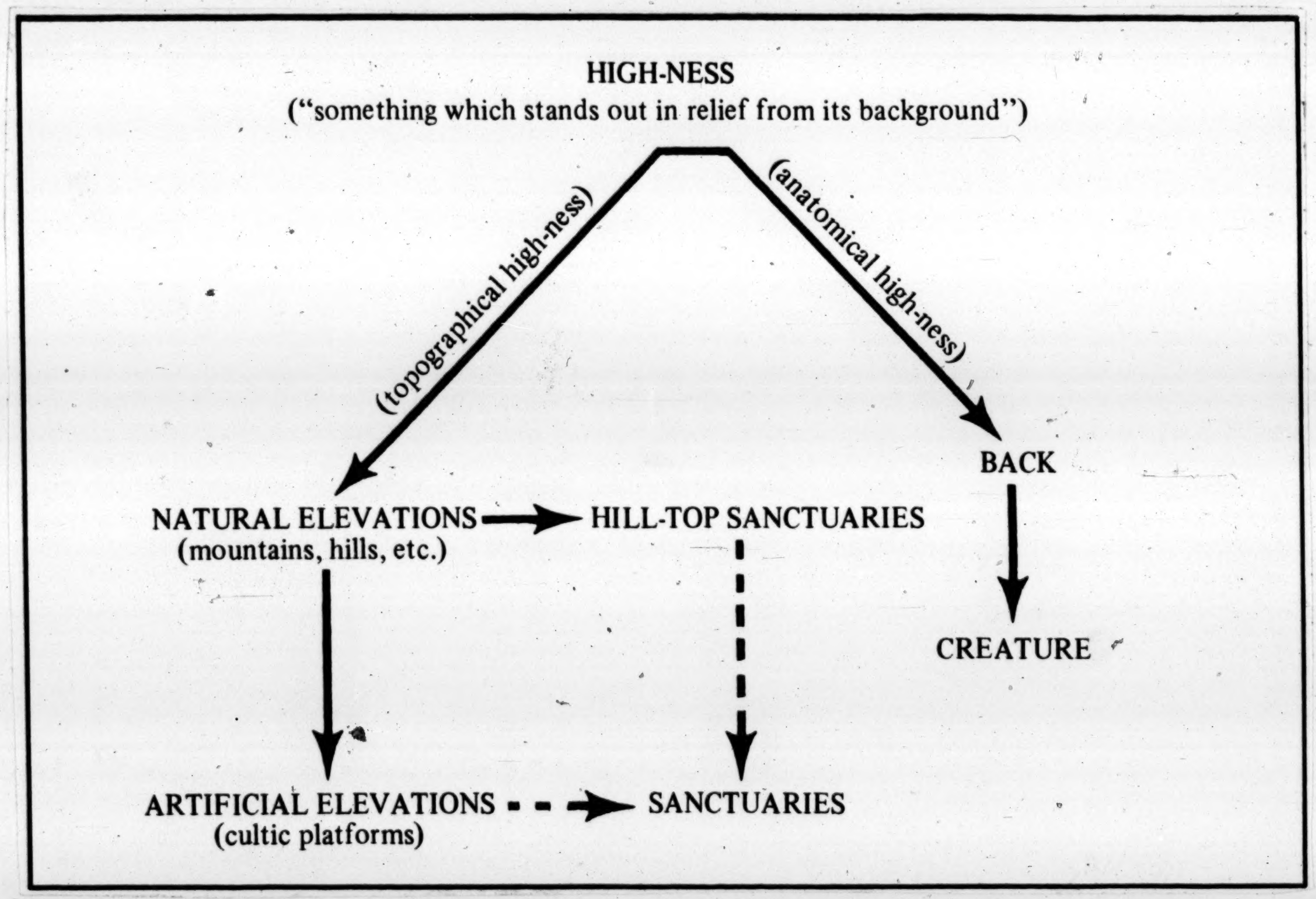
HIGH-NESS
("something which stands out in relief from its background")
(topographical high-ness)
(anatomical high-ness)
BACK
NATURAL ELEVATIONS
(mountains, hills, etc.)
HILL-TOP SANCTUARIES
CREATURE
ARTIFICIAL ELEVATIONS
(cultic platforms)
SANCTUARIES

Fig. 1.--BMH and the bamah installation as customarily interpreted

Whatever a bamah might be, it must somehow exhibit high-ness because that is the etymologically primary meaning of the word BMH. As E. G. Hirsch observed in 1904, "the only point in doubt is whether the bamah originally received its name from the circumstance that it was located on a towering elevation or from the possible fact that, independently of its location, it was itself a raised construction."[1] In reconstructing the bamah phenomenon scholars have opted for one or the other (or both) of these alternatives.[2]

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[1] The semantic developments within this etymological orbit are indicated by solid lines; secondary developments for which etymology is not a factor are indicated by broken lines.

This approach to the question demonstrates what James Barr has called the "root fallacy," i.e., the belief that "in Hebrew there is a 'root meaning' . . . which can confidently be taken to be a part of the actual semantic value of any word or form which can be assigned to an identifiable root," and that this "root meaning" can thus be used as a reliable guide in determining the actual meaning of a word in a given text.[3] Barr cautions against an undue dependence upon this type of reasoning: "Words can only be intelligently interpreted by what they meant at the time of their use, within the language system used by the speaker or writer";[1] etymologizing reveals the past history of a word, and its past meaning(s) which may provide clues as to its possible (or even probable) sense in a text,[2] but "it cannot impose a sense authoritatively upon known usage."[3]

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[1] Hirsch, "High Place," p. 387.

[2] A third possibility (really a modification of Hirsch's second option) is the view that bamoth were funerary mounds, an interpretation revived by Albright, "High Place," pp. 242-258; cf. already Gesenius, Thesaurus, I, 188. For a critical analysis, see W. B. Barrick, "The Funerary Character of 'High-Places' in Ancient Palestine: A Reassessment," VT, XXV (1975), 565-595.

[3] J. Barr, The Semantics of Biblical Language (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 100ff. and ch. 6 (quotation taken from p. 100).

Surveying the biblical references to bamoth with this observation in mind, we find the strong indication that they were man-made installations of urban provenance, and without a noticeable locational preference for high ground. A few texts do seem to place them in mountainous locales--hardly surprising in view of the geography of Palestine!--but these do not warrant the claim that "in the Old Testament bamoth are generally associated with [natural] elevations,"[1] or that there is a pronounced "biblical tradition that the bamoth were built on hills."[2] Nor do they justify positing an internal evolutionary development of the bamah phenomenon to explain, ex hypothesi, why some bamoth--virtually all of them, to judge from our source material--were not built on hills.[3] To do so is to allow etymological inferences to take precedence over the textual evidence and to warp its interpretation.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 139f.

[2] On the nature and usefulness of etymologizing, see especially J. Barr, "Etymology and the Old Testament," OTS, XIX (1974), 1-28. Cf. also O. Jespersen, Language: Its Nature, Development and Origin (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1922), pp. 316f.; Y. Malkeil, "The Place of Etymology in Linguistic Research," Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, XXXI (1954), especially 80ff.; J. F. A. Sawyer, "Root-Meanings in Hebrew," JSS, XII (1967), 37-50.

[3] Barr, Semantics, p. 158. G. B. Caird remarks that "important as etymology is in helping us to decipher meaning, it is usage alone that determines meaning" ("Towards a Lexicon of the Septuagint, I," JTS, XIX [1968], 454). According to W. F. Albright, "quite unnecessary confusion is introduced by trying to explain words by etymology instead of from actual usage" (Archaeology, Historical Analogy and Early Biblical Tradition [Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966], p. 52).

If, on the other hand, a bamah was an artificial elevation upon which cultic acts were performed, this should be reflected in the verbs and prepositions used to locate the worshipper relative to the bamah. The preposition regularly used in these texts, however, is B--suggesting *prima facie* that a bamah was something *within* which these acts took place--and not the expected 'L.[1] The verb BW', primarily "to enter" and twice used with reference to bamoth,[2] is likewise inappropriate for a mound or platform or altar. 'LH occurs in four passages and YRD twice;[3] these verbs signify ascent and descent and could imply that a bamah was some sort of elevated structure, but comparable grammatical constructions show that other possibilities may also be considered.[4] Here too, therefore, the etymologically conditioned reconstruction of the bamah phenomenon finds little support in the ancient sources themselves.

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[1] Robinson, "High Place," p. 678 (emphasis supplied).

[2] Albright, "High Place," p. 249.

[3] Thus, e.g., Brown, Driver, and Briggs define bamoth as "places of worship, at first on hills and mountains, later on artificial mounds or platforms" (Lexicon, p. 119). Cf. also Allen, "High Place," p. 383.

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[1] 'L is used only in Isa. 16:12; in Ezek. 16:16, often cited as a second example, the fem. *bāmôt* cannot properly be the antecedent of the masc. *'^{a}lêhem*. When this incongruity is acknowledged, appeal is usually made to the principle of prepositional "ambiguity" whereby B can be semantically equivalent to 'L (cf. most recently Vaughan, *Meaning*, p. 31); but this is circular reasoning (B must be "ambiguous" in these passages only if bamoth were platforms) and is invalidated by a close analysis of prepositional usage (see Chapter II.D below). If it is argued, conversely, that B evidences BMH's extended generalized meaning of "sanctuary" (cf. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, p. 288, and Fig. 1 above), the claim that bamoth were cultic platforms becomes all the more dependent upon etymology.

[2] 1 Sam. 10:13; Ezek. 20:29.

[3] 1 Sam. 9:13, 14, 19, 25; 10:5; Isa. 15:2.

[4] See Chapter II.B below.

If the "root meaning" of BMH has any bearing on the nature of the bamah phenomenon, it must first be established just what that meaning is. Barr defines a "root meaning" as either "a historical statement referring to origins" or "an abstract statement generalizing the meanings of a word in usage."[1] In the absence of an attested verbal root, the "root meaning" of BMH can be said to be high-ness only in the latter sense, as an attempt to harmonize the apparent anatomical and topographical connotations of this word and of its Semitic cognates. The impetus for this harmonization, however, has been the exegetical tradition inherited from the Vulgate, and not a close examination of these words as they are really used within their respective language systems.

The recent study of BMH by Patrick H. Vaughan acknowledges this weakness. Vaughan deduces from the Akkadian and Ugaritic materials that the "root meaning" of the word is *anatomical* ("rib-cage, chest, back, flank, etc.")[1] and that "there is no idea of *height* inherent in this concept at all."[2] He finds this anatomical sense in all but two of the passages (exclusive of place-names) where BMH does not refer to a cultic installation. It is applied figuratively in the expression *bom^{o}tê-'āreṣ*[3] (lit. "flanks of the land"), the topographical nuance being supplied by 'RṢ (cf. Akk. *bamât šadî*).[4] Vaughan sees this phrase as a "stock poetic formula" occurring only in hymnic fragments of an ancient theophanic myth in reference to the mountainous terrain astride which Yahweh manifests himself in symbolic possession of the land.[5] The mythological site of the theophany, according to Vaughan, was realized architecturally as a mound or platform which took its name from its mythological prototype.[1]

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[1] J. Barr, "Did Isaiah Know about Hebrew 'Root Meanings'?" Expository Times, LXXV (1964), 242.

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[1] Cf. also J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan*, 2d ed., SVT, V (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), 259.

[2] Vaughan, *Meaning*, p. 10. Cf. already L.-H. Vincent, "La Notion biblique du Haut-Lieu," *RB*, LV (1948), 278 ("il semblerair . . . que l'idée de 'hauteur' n'est pas philologiquement intrinsèque à BMH, et que le terme implique seulement un 'site cultuel'"); but cf. pp. 442ff.

[3] *Qere*. The form and vocalization of *bm(w)ty* are very problematic; see Chapter VII below.

[4] Vaughan, *Meaning*, p. 12.

[5] *Ibid*., pp. 9, 11f. The phrase occurs in Deut. 32:13, Isa. 58:14, Amos 4:13, and Micah 1:3. 2 Sam. 22:34 (= Ps. 18:34) and Hab. 3:19 are also included, although 'RṢ is lacking.

Vaughan's etymological observations are a major step forward. His suggestion that the specialized technical use of BMH "was coined (? in Israel) in the context of a particular cult mythology"[2] is an intriguing possibility, but one requiring a more careful analysis than he has provided.[3] His claim that bamoth were cultic platforms does not hinge on the cogency of this explanation, however. For Vaughan the consistent semantic factor is the hill-like *shape* of the objects to which BMH refers, be they mythological mountains or cultic platforms representing them, or actual mountains (2 Sam. 1:19, 25), or grave-mounds (Isa. 53:9a; Job 27:15).[1] Only in this way can he consider BMH "a very suitable word to describe the large stone cairn--a man-made hill--which commonly was heaped over a dug grave," but which had no connection whatever with either the myth or its cultic symbolism.[2] Implicit in Vaughan's argument, therefore, is a semantic development not unlike the traditional one diagramed in Fig. 1.

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 25.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 24.

[3] Two serious defects in Vaughan's position may be mentioned: (1) His interpretation of the myth as an expression of Yahweh's ownership of the land is drawn from those texts where someone other than Yahweh is said to be astride the "flanks of the land" and which, therefore, do not really qualify as "theophanic." Amos 4:13 and Micah 1:3 are clearly "theophanic," but do not suggest ownership. See Chapter V.C below. (2) The Israelite origin of the technical usage of BMH is difficult to accept, particularly in view of its occurrence in a royal Moabite inscription of c. 850 (a fact Vaughan scarcely notes). It is most unlikely that the Moabite king, who boasts of having crushed the hated Israelites, would have borrowed peculiarly Israelite terminology to identify a major construction project in his capital city and consecrated to his god! See Chapter VI.D.1 and p. 386 note 1 below.

Vaughan's conclusions are also heavily influenced by archaeology which has produced a number of platform-like structures in need of interpretation. A reliance upon archaeological discoveries is characteristic of twentieth-century speculation about the bamah phenomenon. Too often, however, the relevance of these artifacts is presupposed rather than demonstrated, and the burden of proof for a particular reconstruction is shifted (as in Vaughan's case) from the texts to the artifacts.[1] Methodologically, this approach is quite wrong. Archaeological data are fundamentally "subhistorical" in that they have no inherent connection with data obtained from literary (i.e., "historical") sources.[2] A cultic installation called a "bamah" is known to have existed in biblical times only insofar as we have references to it in the Old Testament and in the inscription of the Moabite king Mesha. For something known from archaeology to be identified as a "bamah" there must be a demonstrable correspondence between that "subhistorical" artifact and these written descriptions. Without such points of contact, the artifact, however suggestive, is irrelevant.[1]

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[1] Vaughan, Meaning, pp. 15ff., following Albright's treatment of these verses ("High Place," pp. 244ff.) in all essentials.

[2] Vaughan, Meaning, p. 17, in reference to Isa. 53:9a (and Job 27:15) as emended.

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[1] In his first chapter (Meaning, pp. 3-28 and accompanying notes) Vaughan proposes that a bamah was a cultic platform, but he defers proving this assertion to chs. 2 and 3 (cf. p. 12). But his second chapter (pp. 29-36 and accompanying notes) presumes the platform interpretation (cf. p. 31) and develops some implications arising from it. Admitting the weakness of the textual evidence, it is the archaeological material presented in his third chapter (pp. 37-54 and accompanying notes) which "confirms" that "sometimes (possibly normally) sacrifices were offered directly upon a bamah" (p. 33; see also p. 31).

[2] Cf. P. W. Lapp, Biblical Archaeology and History (New York: World, 1969), p. 22. See also the distinction between "text-free" and "text-aided" archaeological interpretation made by C. Hawkes, "Archaeological Theory and Method: Some Suggestions from the Old World," American Anthropologist, LVI (1954), especially 156. For a balanced discussion of the general problem, see M. I. Finley, "Archaeology and History," Daedalus, C, No. 1 (1971), 169-186.

The useful both of etymology and of archaeology for explicating the bamah phenomenon is thus contingent upon the texts and their interpretation. Textual materials have been used in forming the prevailing consensus, of course, but their use has been erratic and their interpretation has been etymologically or archaeologically conditioned.[2] This is well illustrated in Albright's use of only four biblical passages--three of which require emendation to be even germane!--to postulate the funerary character of bamoth.[3] Such arbitrary and uncontrolled selectivity can hardly produce sound results. Conversely, the strongest textual support for interpreting bamoth as mountain-top sanctuaries comes from passages "which, though not expressly mentioning any bamah, certainly have the same type of worship in mind."[1] This approach rests almost entirely upon unverified assumptions and produces a circular argument which proves nothing. Strictly speaking, only explicit references to the bamah phenomenon (i.e., passages which mention it by name) can provide the basis for further speculation about the phenomenon.

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[1] See R. de Vaux, "On Right and Wrong Uses of Archaeology," Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Nelson Glueck, ed. by J. A. Sanders (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1970), especially pp. 70, 78. Cf. G. E. Wright, "What Archaeology Can and Cannot Do," BA, XXXIV (1971), especially 73f.

[2] A reliance upon a priori historical presuppositions regarding Canaanite and Israelite religions (e.g., the primitive simplicity of "popular" religious expression in ancient Palestine, and the deuteronomic antithesis between Solomon's Temple and "local sanctuaries" of indiscriminate type) has also been a significant factor.

[3] See p. 9 note 2.

The present study offers a fresh examination of the word BMH as it occurs in the Old Testament. Ancient texts are, first of all, literary creations and must be analyzed from this perspective before any other use is made of them. Accordingly, in Chapters II and III the biblical usage of BMH is examined from the standpoint of grammar and syntax, composition, and textual integrity in order to locate the word within the structure and history of the language system of which it is a part. The Ugaritic, Akkadian, and Greek words thought to be etymologically related to BMH and which, therefore, may provide clues as to its semantic potential are discussed in Chapter IV. Chapters V and VI are devoted to a detailed exegesis of the texts in which BMH is found. An assessment of the etymology of BMH is given in Chapter VII.

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[1] De Vaux, Ancient Israel, p. 285.

We begin, however, with an examination of the treatment of BMH in the LXX and in the Targums. This is done in part to acknowledge their possible value for textual criticism, but also because they offer a variety of translational equivalents for the word, in striking contrast to the Vulgate. As the Greek and Aramaic versions represent the earliest strata of BMH interpretation outside the canonical Old Testament itself (e.g., Ezek. 20:28f.), their witness merits special attention.

CHAPTER I

BMH IN THE SEPTUAGINT AND IN THE TARGUMS

With the Exile Israel entered a new and alien world, the hallmark of which was cosmopolitanism. One consequence of this was the growth of diasporic communities and the concomitant need for the old national sacred literature to be made accessible to devotees and other interested parties for whom the national language was foreign and its cultural reference points unfamiliar.[1] The LXX gradually evolved for the benefit of a Greek-speaking audience.[2] As is true of every translation, it attempts to convey the meaning of the original as perceived by the community in and for which it was produced.[3] Expansions, omissions, paraphrases, homilies, interpolations, and other exegetical devices abound.[1] This inherent interpretative character is a major consideration in establishing the text-critical value of those passages where the LXX (or any biblical translation) suggests independence from the MT, for in such passages the translator's own contributions may be most evident.[2] Similarly, because its vocabulary is heavily informed by contemporary hellenistic Greek culture[3] its lexical interpretations, especially of theologically charged and obscure words, must be used with care.

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[1] Cf. E. J. Bickerman, "The Septuagint as a Translation," PAAJR, XXVIII (1959), 10ff.; J. Z. Smith, "Native Cults in the Hellenistic Period," HR, XI (1971), 236-249.

[2] Cf. E. J. Bickerman, "Some Notes on the Transmission of the Septuagint," Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume, English section (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1950), pp. 149-178. In general, see B. J. Roberts, The Old Testament Text and Versions (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1951), Pt. II.

[3] See especially Bickerman, "Septuagint as a Translation," pp. 1-39, and C. Rabin, "The Translational Process and the Character of the Septuagint," Textus, VI (1968), 1-26.

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[1] Cf., e.g., H. S. Gehman, "Exegetical Methods Employed by the Greek Translator of I Samuel," JAOS, LXX (1950), 292-296; D. H. Gard, The Exegetical Method of the Greek Translator of the Book of Job, Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series, VIII (Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1952); I. L. Seeligmann, "Indications of Editorial Alterations and Adaptation in the Massoretic Text and the Septuagint," VT, XI (1961), 201-221; D. W. Gooding, "Problems of Text and Midrash," Textus, VII (1969), 1-29.

[2] Cf. M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, "Theory and Practice of Textual Criticism: The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint," Textus, III (1963), 130-158.

[3] Cf., e.g., G. Bertram, "Der Sprachschatz der Septuaginta und der hebräischen Alten Testaments," ZAW, LVII (1939), 85-101; R. Marcus, "Jewish and Greek Elements in the Septuagint," Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume (New York: American Academy for Jewish Research, 1945), pp. 227-245; M. Smith, "The Image of God: Notes on the Hellenization of Judaism," BJRL, XL (1958), 473-512; C. H. Dodd, The Bible and the Greeks, 2d ed. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1964), especially pp. 3-95.

The LXX's interpretation of BMH has figured in the modern interpretation of the word and of the bamah phenomenon, usually as support for the particular view of the Hebrew data which a scholar sought to substantiate. Although it was obvious that the Greek translators had used a number of different equivalents when rendering BMH, no attention was paid to the reasons for this diversity or to the implications this might have for the lexical value of the LXX relative to the Hebrew original.[1] In her _Recherches sur le Vocabulaire du Culte dans la Septante_ (1966) Suzanne Daniel gives the first systematic analysis of BMH in the LXX, focusing upon these problems.[2]

The LXX has made a distinction between BMH as a technical "cultic" designation and as a word in more general "secular" usage. The diversity of translational equivalents is greatest among the "secular" passages. In Jer. 26:18 and

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[1] One finds such statements as: "The equivalent in the LXX is _stēlai_ (in the Prophets also _bōmoi_; in the Historical Books, _hupsē_, _hupsēla_)" (Robinson, "High Place," p. 678).

[2] S. Daniel, _Recherches sur le Vocabulaire du Culte dans la Septante_, Etudes et Commentaires, LXI (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1966), 33-53.

Micah 3:12 *bāmôt yā'ar* is rendered *alsos drumou*,"a forest grove." In Deut. 33:29 *'al bāmôtēmô* is given as *epi ton trachēlon autōn*, "upon their neck."[1] *Ta agatha tēs gēs*, "the good (places) of the land," stands for *bom^{o}tê 'āreṣ*[2] in Isa. 58:14, while in Deut. 32:13 this phrase is rendered *hē ischus tēs gēs*, "the strong (places) of the land." More frequently used are *hupsē* (2 Sam. 1:19, 25; 22:34; Amos 4:13; Micah 1:3) and *hupsēla* (Hab. 3:19; Ps. 18:34), neuter plurals signifying high-ness. Context permits them to be construed topographically (e.g., 2 Sam. 1:19, 25, where the reference seems to be to the hilly terrain of Mt. Gilboa), but these words can also express such concepts as "pride," "arrogance," and "strength," and they occur elsewhere in the LXX for Hebrew words with these connotations.[3]

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[1] Note also the Barberini version of Hab. 3:19: *kai epi tous trachēlous ton echthrōn mou epibibą me*.

[2] *Qere*.

[3] Cf. H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, revised and augmented by H. S. Jones *et al*., 9th ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), pp. 1909f.; G. Bertram, "*Hupsos, Hupsoō, Huperupsoō, Hupsōma, Hupsistos*," *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. by G. Friedrich, trans. by G. W. Bromiley, VIII (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 1972), especially 602f. Both are used, for the most part, for Hebrew words signifying elevation, but not always in the physical sense. The idea of "pride" or "arrogance" is present when *hupsēlon* stands for *g^{e}bōhâ* (1 Sam. 2:3; Isa. 10:33; Eccl. 7:8; cf. Job 41:26), *gōdel*

The Targums preserve an Aramaic version of the Old Testament which grew up alongside the LXX but in a somewhat different cultural milieu; at a great many points the two seem to reflect a common tradition of Jewish biblical exegesis.[1] The "secular" BMH is even more clearly set apart in the Aramaic than in the Greek, and in both the treatment of the word is remarkably similar. The Aramaic *ḥêšat ḥu/aršā’* in Jer. 26:18 and Micah 3:12 and *ṣawrê-* in Deut. 33:29 are close approximations of the Greek renderings.[2] The regular

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(Isa. 9:8), *niśśā’* (Isa. 2:12), and *rûm* (Isa. 10:33), and when *hupsos* stands for *gōbah* (2 Chron. 32:26) and *rûm* (Isa. 2:11, 17 [A; B reads *hubris*]; 10:12). "Strength" may be the intended sense when *hupsēlon* renders *ḥāzāq* (Ex. 6:1; 32:11; Deut. 3:24; Jer. 21:5 [Luc.]), although this could be a harmonization with similar phrases using *nāṭâ* (= *hupsēlon*: Ex. 6:6; Deut. 4:34; etc.) and *rûm* (= *hupsēlon*: Isa. 26:11; etc.). Note also Judg. 9:51 where *migdal-'ōz* is rendered *purgos hēn hupsēlos* (A).

[1] Cf. P. Churgin, "The Targum and the Septuagint," *AJSL*, L (1933), especially 41ff.; L. H. Brockington, "LXX and Targum," *ZAW*, LXVI (1954), 80-86; G. Vermes, "Baptism and Jewish Exegesis: New Light from Ancient Sources," *New Testament Studies*, IV (1957-1958), 318. On the Targums, see P. Churgin, *Targum Jonathan to the Prophets*, Yale Oriental Series, XIV (New Haven: Yale University Press, [1927]); P. E. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (London: Oxford University Press, 1947), especially pp. 117ff.; Roberts, *Old Testament Text and Versions*, ch. 14; A. Diez Macho, "The Recently Discovered Palestinian Targum: Its Antiquity and Relationship with the other Targums," *SVT*, VII (1960), 222-245; J. Bowker, *The Targums and Rabbinic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

[2] The fuller Aramaic reading of Deut. 33:29 suggests that the Greek may have originally read *epi ton trachēlon tōn basileon*

Aramaic equivalent used in these "secular" passages, however, is TQP which connotes "strength." This duplicates exactly the LXX's otherwise anomalous *ischus* in Deut. 32:13,[1] a correspondence which increases the likelihood that *hupsē* and *hupsēla* should be understood in this way when they stand for the "secular" BMH.[2] Significantly, *ischus* is the equivalent chosen by the author's grandson to render BMH in Sir. 9:2.[3]

Two other passages belonging to this "secular" group have been translated more freely in the LXX. In Job 9:8 the MT's *'al bom^{o}tê yam*[4] is given as *ep' edaphous epi thalassēs*, "upon the sea as upon firm ground"; the Aramaic offers *'al rûm t^{e}qôp yammā'*, "upon the height of the strength of the sea."

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autōn, "upon the neck of their kings"; cf. Daniel, *Recherches*, p. 34.

[1] Cf. Daniel, *Recherches*, p. 36.

[2] The Targum of Amos 4:13 reads *raššî'ê 'ar'ā'*, having been interpreted as a chastisement of "the wicked of the land." The LXX's *hupsē* conveys this idea if taken in the sense of "arrogance" (cf. Micah. 1:3); cf. Daniel, *Recherches*, p. 35.

[3] I. Lévi considers *ischus* to be "une traduction traditionnelle" ("Notes sur les Ch. VII, 29-XII, 1 de Ben Sira édités par M. Elkan N. Adler," *JQR*, XIII [1900-1901], 6).

[4] *Sic*.

The Greek has a paraphrase in Isa. 14:14, collapsing the MT's *'al bom^{o}tê 'āb*[1] to *epanō tōn nephelōn*, "above the clouds," while the Aramaic goes its own way with *'îllāwê kol 'ammā'*, "above all the people."

Where the Greek translators understood BMH to be a technical "cultic" term, here too no single equivalent has been used. This would suggest *prima facie* at least some uncertainty as to what a bamah actually was. Daniel approaches this question internally, from the perspective of translational technique.

BMH occurs eight times in the Pentateuch,[2] two of these being "secular" passages. Twice (Num. 21:19, 20) it is a place-name and has simply been transliterated (cf. also Josh. 13:17).[3] In the remaining passages (Lev. 26:30; Num. 21:28; 22:41; 33:52) it is rendered *stēlē*,[4] the regular translational equivalent of maṣṣēbâ in the LXX. Stēlē and maṣṣēbâ refer to similar objects in their respective cultures --the cultic stone pillar--but within the literary boundaries of the Pentateuch these words have acquired ideological overtones as well; the proscription in Ex. 23:24 gives them a negative charge as signifying a now idolatrous cultic phenomenon.[1] BMH also signifies an idolatrous cultic phenomenon, prohibited by name in Num. 33:52, but the Pentateuch alone[2] does not make clear just what sort of thing it is. The other items proscribed in Num. 33:52 are idols, implying that a bamah may have been such an object, perhaps a pillar (maṣṣeboth are not mentioned in this list); stēlē may thus have seemed an adequate approximation for this unknown commodity which was in itself of no particular interest to the translators.[3] Outside the Pentateuch, where more

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[1] *Sic*.

[2] Excluding *'oh^{o}lîbāmâ*, the name of one of Esau's wives (Gen. 36:2, 5, 14, 18, 25, 41).

[3] The Aramaic reads *rāmātā'* (Neofiti: *ryš ṭwryh*, "the tops of the mountains") in Num. 21:19, *rāmtā'* (Neofiti: *r'šy ṭwryyh rm‹y›h*, "the tops of the high mountains") in vs. 20, and *bāmôt* in Josh. 13:17.

[4] The Aramaic reads *bāmāt^{e}kôt* (Neofiti: *bmsykwt*, "your altars") in Lev. 26:30, *rāmtā'* (Neofiti: *bmth*) in Num. 21:28,

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ramat (Neofiti: bmth) in Num. 22:41, and bāmātᵉhôn (Neofiti: bymsyhwn, "their altars") in Num. 33:52.

[1] Thus when Moses apparently violates this injunction in Ex. 24:4 the Greek translator minimized the contradiction by using the neutral lithoi.

[2] Note that the Pentateuch is the oldest stratum of the LXX.

[3] Cf. Daniel, Recherches, pp. 38ff.

information about bamoth is available, stēlē is never used for BMH.

The Greek translators of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Minor Prophets render BMH as bōmos,[1] the normal Greek word for "altar."[2] In the Pentateuch bōmos has been used pejoratively for unauthorized or idolatrous places of sacrifice, while the neologism thusiastērion designates legitimate Israelite altars; both translate mizbēaḥ.[3] This artificial distinction is repeated in Isaiah and Jeremiah.[4] Isa. 15:2

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[1] Isa. 36:7 and Jer. 17:3 occur only in later recensions. In Micah 1:5 bāmôt yᵉhûdâ is given as hē hamartia oikou Iouda, "the sin of the house of Judah" (cf. Targ.) which--if it does not reflect a Vorlage different from the MT--may be seen as an interpretation to improve the parallelism in the verse; cf. Daniel, Recherches, p. 42 note 31, and Chapter III.S below. Hupsēla has been used instead of bomoi in Jer. 19:5 for no apparent reason, the content of the passage (cf. 7:31 and 32:35) and the Targum providing no clue; Daniel suggests that this reading may come from a later stratum of the Greek translation of Jeremiah, possibly the result of a lacuna being filled in by a later scribe (Recherches, p. 42).

[2] A full discussion of bōmos is given in Chapter IV.C below.

[3] See especially Daniel, Recherches, pp. 15-32. Cf. Churgin, "The Targum and the Septuagint," pp. 44ff.; W. H. Mare, "The Greek Altar in the New Testament and Inter-Testamental Periods," Grace Journal, X (1969), 26-35.

[4] Cf. Daniel, Recherches, pp. 18f.

and 16:12 have been treated rather freely; the removal of the MT's *miqdāš* from the latter greatly facilitates the *bōmos* rendering.[1] A similar adjustment occurs in Jer. 7:31 where *hattōpet* has been seen as a specific spot in the Ben-Hinnom valley which could accommodate only one "altar."[2] Jer. 32:35 and 48:35 are closer to the Hebrew.[3] In Amos 7:9 *bāmôt yiśḥāq* has become *bōmoi tou gelōtos*, "altars of laughter," while the parallel *miqdᵉšê yiśrāʼēl* is rendered *hai teletai tou Israēl*, "the mysteries of Israel."[4] In Hos. 10:8 *bōmoi Ōn* (for MT's *bāmôt ʼawen*) and *ta thusiastēria* (for MT's *mizbᵉḥôtām*) are synonyms,[5] indicating that the

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[1] The phrase reads *kai eiseleusetai eis ta cheiropoiēta autēs*, "and Moab shall go in to her idols," and is of a piece with the exegetical tradition behind the Aramaic *wᵉyēʼôl lᵉbêt ṭaʻûtêh*, "and he enters the house of his idol."

[2] Cf. Daniel, *Recherches*, pp. 41f., and Chapter III.L below.

[3] Jer. 48:35 presents text-critical problems which will be discussed in Chapter III.N below. The LXX's version of 49:2 (*kai bōmoi autēs en puri katakanthēsontai*) points to *bāmōtêhâ*, but this is almost certainly a scribal misreading of the MT's *bᵉnōtêhâ*.

[4] *Teletē* is otherwise found only in 1 Kgs. 15:12 where it stands for *qᵉdēšîm* (a reference to cultic functionaries).

[5] The LXX reads *kai exarthēsontai bōmoi Ōn, hamartēmata tou Israēl . akanthai kai triboloi anabēsontai epi ta thusiastēria autōn*, "and the altars of On, the sin of Israel, will be taken away; thorns and thistles will come up upon their altars."

Greek translator of Hosea made no qualitative distinction in his use of these two words.[1]

According to 1 Sam. 9, the first meeting between Saul and Samuel took place at "the bamah" (*habbāmâ*: vss. 12, 13, 14, 19, 25) of an unnamed city. The Greek translator has transliterated the Hebrew word and, except in vs. 25, omitted the definite article. If he understood BMH as a common noun, his use of a transliteration suggests that he did not know its meaning; it is possible, however, that he saw it as the proper name of the city or, perhaps better, of a specific part of the city reserved for cultic performances.[2] Interestingly, in these verses the Targum translates BMH by *bêt ’asḫārûtā’*, "the banqueting-hall."[3] In 10:5 Saul is told that after leaving Samuel he will meet a band of prophets coming down from *habbāmâ*; the Greek has *hē Bama*, while the Aramaic reads *bêt ’asḫārûtā’*. The story concludes in the MT with Saul meeting the prophets and engaging in prophetic activity, whereupon the text reads *wayyābō’ habbāmâ* (10:13); in the LXX this phrase appears as *kai erchetai eis ton bounon*, "and he came to the hill," suggesting a Hebrew *Vorlage* containing *haggib'â*.[1] The Targum, on the other hand, follows the MT with *bêt ’asḫārûtā’*.[2]

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[1] The Aramaic rendering of the "cultic" term is *bāmâ*, except in Jer. 17:3 and Micah 1:5 where the text is at variance with the MT; see Chapter III.M and III.S below.

[2] On transliteration as a translational technique in the LXX, see especially B. Kedar-Kopfstein, "The Interpretative Element in Transliteration," *Textus*, VIII (1973), 55-77, and E. Tov, "Transliterations of Hebrew Words in the Greek Versions of the Old Testament," *Textus*, VIII (1973), 78-92.

[3] This is consistent with the rendering of *liškâ* in vs. 22 by *’asḫārûtā’*; the LXX understood this word as *kataluma*, "lodging."

In the Greek version of 1-2 Kings the "cultic" BMH is translated by *hupselon* (-*a*). The only exceptions to this rule occur in 2 Kgs. 23:8b and 13 where the equivalent is *ho oikos*, "the (temple-?)house."[3] The Aramaic rendering is *bāmâ* throughout.

Hupsēla also stands for the "cultic" BMH in the Greek version of 1-2 Chronicles, except in reference to the bamah at Gibeon.[1] According to the Chronicler, the Tabernacle and the altar of burnt offerings were located there until the Temple had been built, suggesting that this bamah was a fairly complex sanctuary of complete orthodoxy. In recognition of this the Greek has transliterated BMH in these passages.[2] 2 Chron. 1:3, however, reads *eis tēn hupsēlen tēn en Gabaōn*, due perhaps to contamination from *hupsēlotatē* which identifies the Gibeonite bamah in 1 Kgs. 3:4 (for *habbāmâ haggᵉdôlâ*).[3] The very late Aramaic version of 1-2 Chronicles also distinguishes the Gibeonite bamah from the others, using *bêt kᵉništā'*, "the meeting house" (1 Chron. 16:39), *miqdaš*, "sanctuary" (1 Chron. 21:29), and *rāmâ*, "height" (2 Chron. 1:3, 13), in place of the regular *bāmāsā'*, "altar."[4]

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[1] Less likely is *hārāmâ*, proposed by A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel*, III (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1910), 203f., and Vaughan, *Meaning*, p. 87 note 1.

[2] For a full discussion of the text-critical problem, see Chapter III.D below.

[3] See Chapter III.G.2 and III.G.3 below.

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[1] In 2 Chron. 14:4 *habbāmôt* is rendered *ta thusiastēria*, a carelessness inspired by vs. 2; cf. L. C. Allen, *The Greek Chronicles, I*, SVT, XXVI (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), 54f.

[2] 1 Chron. 16:39; 21:29; 2 Chron. 1:13. On the variant readings (*Bamōth*/*Bama* in 1 Chron. 21:29, and *Maba*/*Bama* in 2 Chron. 1:13), see L. C. Allen, *The Greek Chronicles, II*, SVT, XXVII (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), 115 and 29, respectively.

[3] Cf. Daniel, *Recherches*, pp. 47f., who argues that *kai megalē* in 1 Kgs. 3:4 is a later gloss.

[4] On this rendering, see Chapter IV.C below (especially pp. 199f. and note 4).

The seven occurrences of BMH in Ezekiel are given as *bāmâ* in the Targum, but they are treated more eclectically in the LXX. *Hupsēla* stands for the "cultic" word in 6:3 and 6:6 where it refers to one of several idolatrous cultic phenomena. In 20:29 the transliteration *Abama* faithfully reproduces the definite article of the Hebrew original.[1] *Eidōla rapta*, "stitched idols," in 16:16 is best seen as a free interpretation of the MT's obscure *bāmôt ṭ^{e}lu'ôt*.[2] *Erēma aiōnia*, "the eternal desolations" (for *bāmôt 'ôlām*), in 36:2 might be explained in this way, although it could reflect a *Vorlage* different from the MT.[3] Similarly, *en mesō autōn* in 43:7 points to *b^{e}tôkām*, "in their midst," rather than the MT's *bāmôtām*.[4]

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[1] Manuscript evidence is unstable, with *abama*, *abana*, *abbana*, and *bama* attested for both *habbāmâ* and *bāmâ* in this verse. Rahlf's edition retains *abama* for the second, but perhaps *bama* should be read to correspond more exactly to the Hebrew form. Cf. Daniel, *Recherches*, pp. 49f. and note 46.

[2] The Greek can be explained from the general context, *rapta* having been taken from the "garments" mentioned in vs. 16 and *eidōla* suggested by the sense of vs. 17.

[3] Cf. Daniel, *Recherches*, p. 37, and Chapter III.O below.

[4] See Chapter III.P below.

The fact that the Greek translators offer differing opinions as to the nature of the installation to which the "cultic" BMH refers necessarily jeopardizes the value of the LXX in attempting to reconstruct that installation.[1] Indeed, Daniel's analysis indicates that they may have known nothing about the actual bamah phenomenon beyond what could be gleaned directly from the biblical texts being translated. *Stēlē* seemed to fit one context, *bōmos* another.[1] Both of these words were drawn from contemporary Greek cultic terminology, but *hupsēlon* (-*a*) was not. According to Daniel, *stēlē* and *bōmos* were inadequate to represent the type of installation suggested by the context of the passages in question, and the translators were unable to find a suitable alternative in their own cultic vocabulary; rather than transliterate, this neologistical usage of *hupsēlon* (-*a*) was adopted.[2] This choice may well have been prompted by the use of *hupsēla* (and *hupsē*) to render the "secular" BMH. It has been pointed out that this word does not always signify physical high-ness in the LXX, and that in the "secular" passages it probably carries the figurative sense of "strength, pride, arrogance"; when used for the "cultic" BMH, therefore, it may not be a neutral description, but a negative value judgment capturing the biblical writers' generally hostile attitude toward the bamoth.[1] It is significant that those bamoth which are not viewed negatively in the Hebrew original are represented by a transliteration in the Greek.[2] If this assessment is correct, the modern exegetical tradition (beginning with the Vulgate, insofar as its interpretation of BMH has been influenced by the Greek) which sees in hupsēlon (-a) evidence that a bamah was a physically "high place" has mistakenly taken literally what was meant, at least primarily, only in a figurative sense.[1]

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[1] E.g., Albright uses the *stēlē* : *bāmâ* equivalency to support his thesis that BMH can refer to a pillar ("High Place," p. 247; *idem*, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, Anchor Books [Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1969], p. 205), but without explaining why this "correct" equivalent occurs only in four Pentateuchal passages (the gross overstatement in his posthumous "From the Patriarchs to Moses: II," *BA*, XXXVI [1973], 74, must be an editorial slip) and not, e.g., in the non-Pentateuchal phrase *bêt-bāmôt* which, for him, should mean "temple of stelae" ("High Place," p. 248; *idem*, *Yahweh*, p. 205). To justify this selective use of the LXX he must presume knowledge of the bamah phenomenon on the part of the Pentateuchal translators which the translators of the rest of the LXX did not possess. But if this is the case, it is even more surprising that this equivalent is confined to the Greek Pentateuch which served as "une sorte de dictionnaire" for the later LXX translators (Daniel, *Recherches*, *passim* [quotation taken from p. 388]; for further examples, cf. I. L. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of its Problems*, Mededelingen en Verhandelingen, IX [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1948], 45ff.) who could thus be expected to have been influenced by or to have adopted *stēlē* if they did not know the meaning of the "cultic" BMH.

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[1] Vaughan's use of *bōmos* to support his view of a bamah as an altar or platform (*Meaning*, pp. 34f.) is comparable to Albright's use of *stēlē*, but with the addition of an etymological argument; see Chapter IV.C below.

[2] Daniel, *Recherches*, p. 46: "Un certain nombre de textes . . . y donnent à penser en effet que le mot désigne une installation cultuelle plus complex, quelque chose de plus important qu'un simple autel. C'est ainsi qu'il est dit souvent qu'on sacrifice (ZBḤ), qu'on fait fumer des victimes (QṬR) *babbāmôt*. Si l'on comprend que ces rites ont lieu 'dans' les bamoth, on est contraint, en quelque sorte, d'élargir les dimensions de la bamah. La position du traducteur sur ce point ne se laisse pas, it est vrai, aisément définir. . . . On conçoit néanmoins que le traducteur des Rois, en raison de cette incertitude quant à la nature exacte de la bamah, ait pu refuser de s'enfermer dans une traduction aussi étroitement limitée que *stēlē* ou *bōmos*, et que, n'ayant pas trouvé dans la langue cultuelle ordinaire un mot adéquat pour tous les cas, il ait préféré cette sorte de néologisme qu'était *hupsēlon*." Cf. also pp. 368ff.

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[1] Ibid., p. 47: "Il se peut bien que to hupsēlon . . . ne signifie pas seulement 'la chose élevée,' mais 'la chose puissante,' ou plutôt 'la chose superbe,' 'orgueilleuse.' En tout état de cause, le traducteur des Rois dut attributer à ce substantif neutre une valeur particulière et sans doute peu favorable."

[2] Cf. ibid., pp. 369f. Ezek. 20:29 is excepted, since a transliteration was needed to represent the Hebrew wordplay. Regarding 1 Kgs. 3:4, J. W. Wevers suggests that the use of hupsēlotatē served to mute the inference that Solomon worshipped at a pagan cult place ("Exegetical Principles Underlying the Septuagint Text of 1 Kings ii, 12-xxi, 43," OTS, VIII [1950], 314).

Daniel concludes her study with a survey of the treatment of BMH in the later Greek translations of the Old Testament.[2] Documentation is incomplete, since only a handful of examples have been preserved.[3] Symmachus apparently continued to distinguish between a "secular" and a "cultic" term, using hupsos, hupsēla, and bounos for the former[1] and bōmos and hupsēla for the latter.[2] The literalistic Aquila also seems to have made this distinction; the evidence is sparse, but it can be said that, despite his tendency to render a given Hebrew word by only one Greek equivalent, he saw fit to use both hupsēlon and hupsōma for BMH.[3]

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[1] The rare use of epi for B in these passages (1 Kgs. 3:2; 2 Chron. 28:4; 33:17) supports this conclusion, but also indicates that the Greek translators did, on occasion, connect the bamah phenomenon with concrete high-ness; see also the anomalous oikous eph' hupsēlōn (for bêt bāmôt) in 1 Kgs. 12:31. Cf. the rendering epi tois bounois autōn, "upon their hills," for b^{e}bāmôtām in Ps. 78:58; the Aramaic reads b^{e}niskêhôn, "with their drink-offerings."

[2] See M. L. Margolis, The Story of Bible Translations (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1917), pp. 38ff.; Roberts, Old Testament Text and Versions, ch. 8. Cf. also J. Reider, Prolegomena to a Greek-Hebrew Index to Aquila (Philadelphia: Oxford University Press, 1916); L. J. Liebreich, "Notes on the Greek Version of Symmachus," JBL, LXIII (1944), 397-403.

[3] Daniel's citations (Recherches, pp. 51f. and notes 49-51) have been checked against F. Field, Origenis Hexaplorum quae Supersunt (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1875), J. Reider and N. Turner, An Index to Aquila, SVT, XII (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966), and E. Hatch and H. A. Redpath, A Concordance to the Septuagint (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897).

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[1] According to Daniel, hupsos occurs in Micah 3:12, hupsēla in 2 Sam. 1:19 and Ps. 18:34 (= LXX), and bounos in Jer. 26:18. Field adds bounos in Num. 21:19 and hupsē in Isa. 58:14 (which Hatch and Redpath also give as hupsēlon).

[2] According to Daniel, bōmos occurs in 1 Kgs. 12:32 and 13:33 (and probably 11:7 and 13:2), and hupsēla in 1 Kgs. 15:14 and 22:44, 2 Kgs. 17:32 and 23:5 (all = LXX), Isa. 36:7, and Jer. 7:31. Field and Hatch and Redpath add hupsēla in Amos 7:9.

[3] According to the Reider-Turner Index, hupsēlon occurs in Isa. 36:7 (= Sym.), Ezek. 16:16, and Ps. 78:58, to which Daniel adds 2 Kgs. 17:32 (= LXX); all of these are "cultic" passages. Field cites hupsēlon in Jer. 7:31 (= Sym.), while the Index gives bōmos (= LXX); Hatch and Redpath have both for this "cultic" passage. For the "secular" word in Isa. 58:14 the Index and Hatch and Redpath give both hupsēlon and hupsos (= Sym.); Field cites only the latter. The Index gives bomos in Jer. 19:5 (= Sym.) and Jer. 48:35 (= LXX). Hupsōma seems to have been used with more diversity, occurring for the "secular" BMH in Deut. 32:13, Isa. 14:14, and Ps. 18:34, and for the "cultic" BMH in 1 Sam. 9:12, 2 Kgs. 23:13, 15, 19, 20, Ezek. 6:6, and Ezek. 20:29. The Index cites both hupsōma and hupsēlon in the "cultic" Jer. 32:35; Field gives hupsē. Finally, the place-name in Num. 21:19 is cited as hupsōma in the Index and as hupsē by Field.

If the various Greek versions of the Old Testament tell us little about the bamah phenomenon, they do provide an important clue about the word BMH. Modern scholarship has followed the Vulgate and treated all occurrences of BMH alike, taking the technical designation as a specialized adaptation of the word's more general (and more original) meaning. The older exegetical tradition reflected in the LXX and Targums, however, rigidly separates the two usages. This distinction may be no more than a technique shared by these two translations,[1] but it may also belie the recognition of two different (although perhaps related) Hebrew words. This possibility is enchanced by the variety of equivalents given by the literalistic Aquila[2]--and by the presence of an identical "secular"/"cultic" distinction at Qumran and in the MT itself.[3] This multiple attestation justifies adopting the "secular"/"cultic" distinction as a working hypothesis in the analyses to which we now turn.

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[1] That this technique is characteristic of the LXX's treatment of cultic terminology is clear from Daniel's study; she considers it "un exigence purement intellectuelle" (Recherches, p. 364).

[2] Cf. ibid., pp. 379ff.

[3] See Chapter VII below.

CHAPTER II

SYNTACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

According to Barr, "a word has its meaning only in its own language at its own time and in relations of proximity and opposition to other words in that same language at that same time."[1] From the standpoint of general linguistic study, therefore, the decipherment of an unknown Hebrew lexical item should proceed from an analysis of the Hebrew texts in which the word is found, leaving the word blank until the analysis is completed, rather than from the automatic recourse to cognate languages and etymologizing.[2] Barr acknowledges that this approach can give easy access to the sort of guessing from context so common in earlier biblical exegesis,[3] but he argues that the "contextual factors which indicate meaning" are the investigator's primary sources and thus must be the starting-point of his inquiry.[1]

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[1] J. Barr, "The Ancient Semitic Languages: The Conflict between Philology and Linguistics," Transactions of the Philological Society (1968), p. 55. Cf. idem, Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 295.

[2] Cf. Barr, "Ancient Semitic Languages," p. 51.

[3] Cf. Barr's discussion of the use of parallelism in this process (Comparative Philology, pp. 277ff.).

One such factor is the semantic implications of the syntactical combinations in which the unknown word occurs. This has been emphasized by M. H. Goshen-Gottstein who notes that "without the lead of syntax, commentators could never be certain whether their suggestions are possible at all.[2] The semantic content of a given syntactical construction, as established from those passages where the sense of the construction is not in doubt, defines the semantic potential of the more problematic examples and thus limits the exegetical options (or guesses) available to the commentator. These limitations have validity because they are drawn from known usage in the language system as a whole and not from the content and immediate context of the disputed passage alone.[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 300.

[2] M. H. [Goshen-]Gottstein, "Afterthought and the Syntax of Relative Clauses in Biblical Hebrew," JBL, LXVIII (1949), 35, adding that "where the sense is well known and the text established is it possible to discover fundamental rules, which may pave the way for new interpretation when applied to difficult or poetic texts."

This chapter will examine a number of BMH passages from this perspective. The syntactical combinations to be discussed are not unique to these passages; their semantic content elsewhere is straightforward enough, and it is reasonable to assume that this content will be present in the BMH passages as well.

II.A. The Use of BMH with the Verb BWʼ

The word BMH, as a reference to a cultic installation, is twice used with the motion-verb BWʼ: *wayyābōʼ habbāmâ* (1 Sam. 10:13), and *mâ habbāmâ ʼ^{a}šer-ʼattem habbāʼîm šām* (Ezek. 20:29). The RSV renders the former "he came to the high place," and the latter "what is the high place to which you go?" These translations are open to question because the verbal action expressed by BWʼ is not movement toward a destination (i.e., "to come to, to approach"), but rather movement into a destination (i.e., "to come into, to enter").[1]

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[1] The fact that the Hebrew of the Old Testament is neither dialectally nor chronologically uniform and inevitable possibility of textual corruption complicate but do not invalidate this approach.

BWʾ is the most frequently used of all Hebrew motion-verbs, occurring some 1,969 times (in Qal) in the MT. It is true that it can mean simply "to come to." If this is the intended sense in these two passages, it tells us little about the bamah phenomenon; one can "come to" almost anything. But if the idea of entry is intended, we must conclude that (at least for the authors of these passages) a bamah was something capable of being entered. An examination of BWʾ in syntactically comparable passages suggests that the interpretation represented by the RSV's translations is the less probable of these two possibilities.

In 1 Sam. 10:13 the traveller's destination habbāmâ is subordinated to the verb by means of the "accusative" (or "verbal complement")[2] and not through a preposition (or "prepositional complement"). According to Heinrich Ewald, "the ordinary accusative forms the proper completion and extension of the verb" in these constructions.[1] The results of an extensive survey of Hebrew motion-verbs by H. J. Austel generally confirm Ewald's opinion; Austel concludes that the "basic idea" in this type of subordination is "the carrying

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[1] Cf. Brown, Driver, and Briggs, Lexicon, pp. 97ff.; Koehler and Baumgartner, Lexicon, pp. 108ff. (= Holladay, Lexicon, pp. 34f.); H. D. Preuss, "bôʾ, ʾāṯāh," Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament, ed. by G. J. Botterweck et al., trans. by J. T. Willis, II (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 1975), 20-49.

[2] "Accusative" is the conventional terminology, but it should be asked "whether one can really make use of ideas like

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accusative, genetive and nominative in any form of Hebrew syntax when the corresponding morphological phenomena are unknown to us in any form of Hebrew" (J. Hoftijzer, "Remarks concerning the Use of the Particle 'T in Classical Hebrew," OTS, XIV [1965], 2). "Verbal complement" is the more strictly descriptive terminology preferred by H. J. Austel, "Prepositional and Non-Prepositional Complements with Verbs of Motion in Biblical Hebrew" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1969), especially pp. 30f.

[1] H. Ewald, Syntax of the Hebrew Language of the Old Testament, trans. by J. Kennedy (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1881), p. 43. According to W. Gesenius, Hebrew Grammar, 2d ed., ed. by E. Kautzsch and A. E. Cowley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), "the accusative serves to define more precisely the place (accus. loci) . . . in answer to the question whither? after verbs of motion" (p. 373); so also A. B. Davidson, Hebrew Syntax (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1894), p. 98. T. J. Meek maintains that "the regular use of the accusative of time and place in Hebrew is terminative and not locative, i.e., it is used to indicate motion in time or space and not place where in time or space" ("The Hebrew Accusative of Time and Place," JAOS, LX [1940], 228). Cf. also P. Joüon, Grammaire de l'Hébreu Biblique, 2d ed. (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1947), p. 372; C. Brockelmann, Hebräische Syntax (Neukirchen: Buchhandlung des Erziehungsvereins, 1956), p. 79 ("die Akkusativ ist ursprünglich der Kasus des Zieles und der Richtung").

out of the action indicated in the verb."[1] In the case of the BW' + Ø (= "accusative") construction, therefore, it is a priori probable that the writer intended to convey the idea of entry rather than approach.

We may check this against actual usage in passages where the destination of the verbal action is a common noun as in 1 Sam. 10:13:[2]

List No. 1. BW' (in Qal) + Ø

1. Noun as Destination
    - a. 'ôṣār ("treasury"): Jos. 6:19
    - b. bayit ("house"): Jos. 2:1; 6:22; Judg. 9:27; 18:18; 1 Sam. 5:5; 2 Sam. 4:7; 12:20; 1 Kgs. 14:4, 28; 2 Kgs. 5:18; 10:21, 23; 11:13, 16, 18, 19; 12:10; 19:1; 23:11; Isa. 37:1; Jer. 16:5, 8; 26:2; 36:5; 38:11; Amos 5:19; Zech. 6:10; Ps. 5:8; 66:13; Prov. 7:2; 27:10; Neh. 6:10; 2 Chron. 12:11; 23:6, 12, 17; 32:21
    - c. bāmâ ("bamah"): 1 Sam. 10:13
    - d. barzel ("iron [fetters]"): Ps. 105:18

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[1] Austel, "Prepositional and Non-Prepositional Complements," p. 323; cf. pp. 323-329 for a summary of his findings.

[2] This compilation supersedes that given by Austel (ibid., pp. 41f.).

e. *gōren* ("threshing-floor"): Ruth 3:14

f. *ḫeder* ("chamber"): 1 Kgs. 20:30; 22:25; 2 Chron. 18:24

g. *ḫāṣēr* ("court"): Ps. 100:4

h. *mālôn* ("camp-ground"): 2 Kgs. 19:23

i. *miqdāš* ("sanctuary"): Lam. 1:10

j. *'îr* ("city"): 1 Sam. 9:13; 10:5; 21:1; 2 Sam. 10:14; 15:37; 19:4; 2 Kgs. 7:4; Jer. 14:18; 32:24; Ruth 2:18; 3:15

k. *petaḫ* ("door"): Isa. 13:2

l. *ša'ar* ("gate"): Gen. 23:10, 18; Ob. 11 (*Qere*); Ps. 100:4

2. Pronoun as Destination

a. *-ān* ("them"): Ezek. 42:12 (= *l^{e}šākôt*, "chambers")[1]

Each of these destinations is capable of being entered,[2] and for the most part it is clear from the context that entry is actually achieved.[1] Even the construction in Jer. 32:24 (*hassōl*^{e}*lôt bā'û hā'îr l*^{e}*lokdāh*) conforms to this pattern; the image here is of a besieged city whose walls have been breached so that the "ramps" used in the deployment of the enemy's battering-rams now lead into the city itself.[2]

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[1] On *b^{e}bō'ām* in Ezek. 42:14, cf. J. A. Bewer, "Textual and Exegetical Notes on the Book of Ezekiel," *JBL*, LXXII (1953), 168, and W. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel*, BKAT, XIII (Neuchirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins, 1969), 1058.

[2] The destination *mārôm* ("height") in Isa. 37:24b would appear to be an exception. However, the 2 Kgs. 19:23 version reads *mālôn* which, with the presence of *mārôm* earlier in the verse, may point to a textual corruption: so, e.g., A. Dillmann and R. Kittel, *Der Prophet Jesaja*, 6th ed., KEHAT, V (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1898), 324; K. Marti, *Das Buch Jesaja*, KHCAT, X (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1900), 256; B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 3d ed., HKAT, III, pt. 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1914), 244; E. J. Kissane, *The Book of Isaiah*, I (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1941), 411. Alternatively, *mārôm* could be seen as the mountainous area which the traveller enters; cf. the discussion of *bāhār* below (pp. 82f.).

This may be compared to the situation which obtains when a common noun is subordinated to BW’ by means of the preposition ’L:[1]

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[1] E.g., Jos. 6:19 (the valuables will be deposited in the treasury of Yahweh); 1 Sam. 5:5 (those who enter the House of Dagon do not step upon its threshold); 2 Sam. 10:14 (the Ammonites flee back into the city from their battle-lines in front of the gate [cf. vs. 8]); 1 Kgs. 14:4 (Ahijah hears the woman as she enters his house [cf. vs. 6]); 2 Kgs. 7:4 (the lepers at the gate discuss whether they should enter the city); 10:21 (the Baal worshippers enter the House of Baal, filling it to capacity); 11:19 (Jehoiada and the assembly enter the house of the king, and the king sits upon the throne); Jer. 36:5 (Jeremiah tells Baruch that he is forbidden to enter the House of Yahweh); Amos 5:19 (one does not expect to be bitten by a snake after entering a house); Ps. 105:18 (Joseph's neck was in fetters).

[2] Cf. 2 Sam. 20:15; 2 Kgs. 19:32; Isa. 37:33; Jer. 6:6; 33:4; Ezek. 4:2; 17:17; 21:27; 26:8; Dan. 11:15. On this technique of siege warfare, see Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963), II, 314f., and the accompanying illustrations from Assyrian siege reliefs (pp. 408, 422f., 434f.). The remainder of the verse supports this interpretation: " . . . because of sword and famine and disease the city has been given into the hand of the Chaldeans fighting against it; what you said (would happen) has happened, and behold you are seeing (it)."

List No. 2. BW’ (in Qal) + ’L

1. Noun as Destination

    a. *’ōhel* ("tent"): Ex. 28:43; 29:30; 30:20; 40:32, 35; Lev. 9:23; 10:9; 16:23; Num. 7:89; 17:23; 19:14; 1 Kgs. 2:30; 2 Kgs. 7:8 (twice)

    b. *’ôṣār* ("treasury"): Job 38:22

    c. *’armôn* ("residence"):[2] 1 Kgs. 16:18

    d. *’ereṣ* ("land"): Ex. 12:25; 16:35; Lev. 19:23; 23:10; 25:2; Num. 13:27; 14:30; 15:2, 18; 20:24; 32:9; Deut. 4:21; 17:14; 18:9; 26:1, 3; 27:3; 31:7; 32:52; Jer. 48:21

    e. *bayit* ("house"): Gen. 19:3; 39:16; Ex. 7:23; 12:23; Lev. 14:46; Deut. 24:10; Josh. 20:6; Judg. 11:34; 18:15; 19:22, 23, 29; 1 Sam. 1:19; 21:16; 2 Sam. 4:5; 5:8; 11:11; 12:20; 17:18; 19:31; 20:3; 1 Kgs. 21:4; Jer. 37:16; Ezek. 3:4; 43:4; Zech. 5:4 (twice); Ruth 4:11; Est. 5:10; Ezra 3:8; 2 Chron. 7:2; 23:7

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[1] Cf. Austel, "Prepositional and Non-Prepositional Complements," pp. 46ff.

[2] See E. A. Speiser, "The Etymology of *’armôn*," *JQR*, XIV (1923-1924), 329; cf. H. L. Ginsberg, "The Ugaritic Texts and Textual Criticism," *JBL*, LXII (1943), 114 note 9. On this verse, cf. J. Gray, *I-II Kings: A Commentary*, 2d ed., OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1970), p. 363 note a.

f. gidrôt haṣṣô'n ("sheepfold"): 1 Sam. 24:4

g. hêkāl ("temple"): Mal. 3:1; Neh. 6:11; 2 Chron. 26:16; 27:2

h. har ("mountain"): Ex. 3:1

i. ḥānût ("cell" [?]): Jer. 37:16

j. ḥāṣēr ("court"): Ezek. 44:21, 27

k. ya'ar ("honeycomb"):[1] 1 Sam. 14:26

l. yeqeb ("winevat"): Hag. 2:16

m. leḥem ("food" [= feast]): 1 Sam. 20:27

n. mābô' ("entrance"): 2 Chron. 23:15

o. mizbēaḥ ("altar"): Ps. 43:4

p. mālôn ("camp-ground"): Gen. 43:21

q. m^{e}nûḥâ ("rest"): Deut. 12:9; Ps. 95:11

r. m^{e}'ārâ ("cave"): 1 Kgs. 19:9

s. miqdāš ("sanctuary"): Lev. 12:4; Isa. 16:12; Ezek. 23:39; 44:9, 16; Ps. 73:17

t. māqôm ("place"): Gen. 22:9; Deut. 12:26; 29:6; 1 Sam. 20:19; 26:5; 2 Sam. 2:23

u. mišteh ("banquet"): Est. 5:4, 5, 8, 14

v. naḥ^{a}lâ ("inheritance"): Deut. 12:9

w. 'ayin ("spring"): Gen. 24:42

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[1] Cf. S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), pp. 113f.; Barr, *Comparative Philology*, p. 144.

x. 'ir ("city"): Jos. 9:17; 10:19, 20; 20:6; 1 Sam. 30:3; 1 Kgs. 13:29; 20:30; 2 Kgs. 7:12; 19:32, 33; Isa. 37:33, 34; Jer. 48:8

y. 'ōpel ("hill" or "citadel"):[1] 2 Kgs. 5:24

z. 'ᵃrēmâ ("heap"): Hag. 2:16

aa. pārōket ("veil"): Lev. 21:23

bb. petaḥ ("door"): Num. 20:6; 1 Kgs. 17:10

cc. sᵉriaḥ ("chamber"):[2] Judg. 9:46

dd. qeber ("grave"): 1 Kgs. 13:22; 14:13; Job 5:26

ee. qōdeš ("holy place"): Ex. 28:29, 35; Lev. 16:2, 3, 23; Ezek. 44:27

ff. śādeh ("field"): 1 Sam. 6:14

gg. śᵉdērâ ("line [of men]"): 2 Kgs. 11:8

hh. šulḥān ("table"): 1 Sam. 20:29

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[1] This word is problematic; since the scene is not localized, both meanings are possible. The latter is perhaps to be preferred if Elijah was attached to the royal establishment at Samaria. Cf. C. F. Burney, Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), pp. 282f.; Gray, I-II Kings, p. 510.

[2] All that can be said with certainty is that this word refers to some part of the "house" of El-Berith. For discussion, cf. G. F. Moore, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges, ICC, VII (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895), 266; Driver, Notes, p. 99; C. F. Burney, The Book of Judges, 2d ed. (London: Rivingtons, 1920), p. 286; G. E. Wright, Shechem: The Biography of a Biblical City (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965), pp. 124ff.; R. G. Boling, Judges, AB, VIA (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1975), 181.

ii. ša'ar ("gate"): Ezek. 40:6; 44:17; Est. 4:2

jj. tēbâ ("ark"): Gen. 6:18; 7:1, 7, 9, 13

’L is "properly an expression of motion or at least of direction towards something."[1] If there is a semantic distinction between BW’ + 0 and BW’ + ’L, therefore, we may expect it to hinge upon the question of entry.

In a significant number of these passages where BW’ + ’L is used actual entry is doubtful or clearly impossible because of the nature of the destination and/or the larger context:

1. Judg. 11:34 (bayit): Jephthah has come to, but has not yet entered, his house when he sees his daughter "coming out [of the house]" (yōṣē’t) to meet him (cf. vs. 31).[2]

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[1] Gesenius, Hebrew Grammar, p. 378. See also Brown, Driver, and Briggs, Lexicon, p. 39; Joüon, Grammaire, p. 403; Brockelmann, Syntax, pp. 103f.; Koehler and Baumgartner, Lexicon, pp. 48f. (= Holladay, Lexicon, p. 16). G. J. Thierry derives it from *’ilaj-u, "direction" ("Notes on Hebrew Grammar and Etymology," OTS, IX [1951], 2f.). Cf. also C. Brockelmann, Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen, II (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1913), 385ff.; H. Bauer and P. Leander, Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1962 [reprint of 1922 edition]), p. 640.

[2] The nature of Palestinian domestic architecture and the concomitant semantic flexibility of bayit complicate the interpretation of those passages where the destination is bayit; one may enter the courtyard of a dwelling compound (= bayit) without entering the actual dwelling unit (= bayit). The sense of BW’ + ’L in Judg. 11:34 is apparent, however, from ŠWB, used prefigur-

2. Judg. 18:15 (bayit): The spies come to Micah's house (= BW’ + ’L) in vs. 15, and they enter it (= BW’ + 0) in vs. 18.[1]

3. 2 Sam. 4:5 (bayit): The murderers come to Ishbosheth's house (= BW’ + ’L) in vs. 5, and they enter it (= BW’ + 0) in vs. 7.[2]

4. 2 Sam. 17:18 (bayit): Jonathan and Ahimaaz come to the house of a man at Bahurim and hide in the well in the courtyard.[3]

5. Ezek. 3:4 (bayit): The destination is bêt yiśrā’ēl, the people to whom the prophet is told to come.[4]

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atively in vs. 31.

[1] Vs. 18a repeats the action described in vs. 17a (bā’û šammāh) which is usually treated as a later gloss (cf. Moore, Judges, p. 396, and Burney, Judges, pp. 413f.). Boling retains both, regarding vs. 18a as an intentional repetition to give a chronological setting for the question in vs. 18b (Judges, p. 264).

[2] Vs. 7, which anticipates vs. 8, is probably corrupt; cf. the restoration proposed by J. Wellhausen, Der Text der Bücher Samuelis (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1871), pp. 161f.

[3] The reservations expressed in p. 52 note 2 above are particularly germane here, since the courtyard obviously is entered but the dwelling unit itself is not.

[4] BW’ + ’L is the expected construction when the destination is a person; cf. Austel, "Prepositional and Non-Prepositional Complements," pp. 98f.

6. Ezra 3:8 (*bayit*): The destination is the site of the Temple to which the exiles have returned.[1]

7. Ex. 3:1 (*har*): Moses comes to "the mountain of God" while moving his flocks through the wilderness.

8. 1 Sam. 14:26 (*ya'ar*): The people approach the honeycomb, and Jonathan eats from it.

9. Hag. 2:16 (*yeqeb*): One comes to the winevat to draw from it.

10. 1 Sam. 20:27 (*leḥem*): Saul asks why David has not come to the feast.

11. Ps. 43:4 (*mizbēaḥ*): The speaker goes to the altar to praise God.

12. Gen. 22:9 (*māqôm*): The "place" is the mountain-top (vs. 2) to which Abraham and Issac have come.[2]

13. 1 Sam. 20:19 (*māqôm*): The reference is to the "place" in the field to which David is told to go to hide.

14. 1 Sam. 26:5 (*māqôm*): The "place" is Saul's encampment which David approaches and eventually (vss. 6ff.) enters.

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[1] *bêt hā'ᵉlōhîm* in vs. 8a is virtually synonymous with *yᵉrûšālaim* in vs. 8b.

[2] Cf. the use of HLK + ʾL in vs. 3.

15. 2 Sam. 2:23 (*māqôm*): The reference is to the "place" where Asahel lay dead; David's army arrives and waits there until Joab's return to remove the body (vss. 30ff.).[1]

16. Est. 5:4, 5, 8, 14 (*mišteh*): The king and Haman come to Esther's banquet.

17. Gen. 24:42 (*'ayin*): Abraham's servant reports that he met Rebekah when he had come to the spring (cf. vs. 11).

18. 2 Kgs. 5:24 (*'ōpel*): The reference is to the place where Elijah's house was located, either a hill or a building-complex; having obtained Naaman's gifts, Gehazi returns to the ophel (= BWʼ + ʼL) and deposits them "in the house" (*babbāyit*), and then "goes in" (= BWʼ without destination) and talks with the prophet (vs. 25).

19. Hag. 2:16 (*'ᵃrēmâ*): One comes to a heap of grain to take from it.

20. Lev. 21:23 (*pārōket*): No blemished Aaronite is permitted to approach the veil (= BWʼ + ʼL) or to approach the altar (= NGŠ + ʼL).

21. 1 Kgs. 17:10 (*petaḥ*): Elijah has come only to the

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[1] Entry is impossible because the "place" is already occupied by Asahel's body.

gate of Zarephath when he meets the widow gathering sticks.[1]

22. 1 Sam. 20:29 (*šulḥān*): Jonathan explains why David has not come to the king's table for the feast.

This contrasts sharply with the BW' + Ø passages in which entry is regularly achieved. If the text of 1 Sam. 10:13 read **wayyābō' 'el-habbāmâ*, we would be justified in translating it "and he came to the bamah." Such a rendering of the MT's *wayyābō' habbāmâ*, however, would be without syntactical precedent in biblical usage.[2]

The BW' + ŠM construction which occurs in Ezek. 20:29 is ambiguous. Its semantic content is dependent upon the nature of the destination to which ŠM refers, in this case the unknown *habbāmâ*, and thus a syntactical analysis will not serve our purpose.[3] Taken alone, either entry or approach would be possible.

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[1] That the widow was the first resident of Zarephath that he met, and that this occurred even before he had actually entered the city, adds emphasis to the fulfillment of the prophecy given in vs. 9b.

[2] The semantic distinction between these two constructions is not absolute, however, for BW' + 'L very often expresses actual entry and not approach (cf., e.g., 2 Chron. 23:6f.).

[3] Cf., e.g., Deut. 1:37; 1 Sam. 2:14; 10:5, 10; 1 Kgs. 19:9; Jer. 44:8; 49:36; Ezek. 11:16; 12:16; 36:20, 22.

II.B. The Use of BMH with the Verb 'LH

BMH is used with the motion-verb 'LH (in Qal) in five biblical passages: *ya'^{a}leh habbāmātāh* (1 Sam. 9:13); *la'^{a}lôt habbāmâ* (1 Sam. 9:14); *'^{a}lēh l^{e}pānay habbāmâ* (1 Sam. 9:19); *'e'^{e}leh 'al-bom^{o}tê 'āb*[1] (Isa. 14:14); *'ālâ habbayit w^{e}dîbōn habbāmôt* (Isa. 15:2). In the first three passages BMH refers to the site of cultic activity (a sacrifice and a meal) in which Samuel and Saul participate. Isa. 15:2 is extremely problematic, but the reference is almost certainly to one or more cultic installations.[2] The word does not have this meaning in Isa. 14:14, however, where it figures in the boastful imagery applied to the king (ostensibly) of Babylon.

The verb 'LH signifies upward motion. It can be used to express movement up toward a destination spatially higher that the traveller's starting-point (i.e., "to go up to"), or upward movement which concludes with the traveller located upon his destination (i.e., "to go up upon").[3] If the latter is the case in those passages where the traveller's destination is a bamah installation, these bamoth must be seen as elevations upon which the cultic activity could take place. A number of syntactical factors suggest, however, that the first possibility is the intended sense here.

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[1] *Sic*.

[2] See Chapter III.J and Chapter VI.D.2 below for a full discussion of this passage.

[3] Cf. Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *Lexicon*, pp. 748ff.; Koehler and Baumgartner, *Lexicon*, pp. 705f. (= Holladay, *Lexicon*, p. 273).

In 1 Sam. 9:14, 19, and (apparently) Isa. 15:2 the destinations *habbāmâ* and *habbāmôt* are subordinated to the verb by means of the "accusative." This construction occurs some 38 times in the MT with a common noun as the destination of the verbal action:[1]

List No. 3. 'LH (in Qal) + 0

1. Noun as Destination
    - a. *'arm^{e}nôt* ("residences"): Isa. 34:13
    - b. *bayit* ("house"): Judg. 14:19; 2 Kgs. 19:14; 20:5, 8; 23:2; Isa. 15:2; 37:14; 38:22; Jer. 26:10; 2 Chron. 29:20; 34:30
    - c. *bāmâ*/*bāmôt* ("bamah"/"bamoth"): 1 Sam. 9:14, 19; Isa. 15:2
    - d. *har* ("mountain"): Hag. 1:8; Ps. 104:8[2]

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[1] Cf. Austel, "Prepositional and Non-Prepositional Complements," pp. 205f.

[2] Taking "the waters" as the subject, with, e.g., C. A. Briggs and E. G. Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, II, ICC, XVII (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), 333, and M. Dahood, *Psalms III*, AB, XVIIA (Garden City: Double-

e. *ḫômâ* ("wall"): Joel 2:7

f. *yāṣûa'* ("bed"): Gen. 49:4

g. *midbār* ("wilderness"): Judg. 1:16

h. *mizbēaḫ* ("altar"): Isa. 60:7

i. *mārôm* ("height"): 2 Kgs. 19:23; Isa. 37:24

j. *miškāb* ("bed"): Gen. 49:4; Isa. 57:8

k. *'îr* ("city"): 1 Sam. 9:14; Prov. 21:22

l. *rō'š* ("top"): Ex. 17:10; Deut. 3:27

m. *šāmayim* ("heaven"): 1 Sam. 5:12; 2 Kgs. 2:11; Isa. 14:13; Jer. 51:53; Amos 9:2; Ps. 107:26; Prov. 30:4

n. *ša'ar* ("gate"): Ruth 4:1

2. Pronoun as Destination

a. -*āh* ("it"): Isa. 35:9 (= *derek*, "highway")[1]

In none of these passages does the one "going up" demonstrably conclude his journey upon his destination. In many instances such superimposition is obviously impossible: "Boaz went up (to) the gate" (Ruth 4:1);[2] "they went up (to) the city" (1 Sam.

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day and Co., 1970), 36f.

[1] Cf. C. C. Torrey, *The Second Isaiah: A New Interpretation* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928), p. 299.

[2] It is clear from the context that Boaz does not sit *upon* the gate (contrast 2 Sam. 18:24; 19:1; cf. Josh. 2:8 and Judg. 9:51).

9:14);[1] "they went up (to) the heavens, they went down (to) the depths" (Ps. 107:26);[2] "the king went up (to) the House of Yahweh" (2 Kgs. 23:2).[3] When the nature of the destination will admit superimposition, the passage makes as good or better sense without supplying this nuance: e.g., "I have gone up (to) the heights of the mountains, (to) the recesses of Lebanon [to cut trees there]" (2 Kgs. 19:23 and Isa. 37:24; cf. Hag. 1:8).[4]

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[1] So also Prov. 21:22, unless 'LH here carries the hostile nuance of "to attack" (regularly = 'LH + 'L, "to go up against"); cf. W. A. van der Weiden, *Le Livre des Proverbes: Notes Philologiques*, Biblica et Orientalia, XXIII (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1970), 134.

[2] Also 1 Sam. 5:12; 2 Kgs. 2:11; Isa. 14:13; Jer. 51:53; Amos 9:2; Prov. 30:4.

[3] Also Judg. 14:19; 2 Kgs. 19:14; 20:5, 8; Isa. 37:14; 38:22; Jer. 26:10; 2 Chron. 29:20; 34:30. On Isa. 15:2, see Chapter III. J below.

[4] Cf. also Ex. 17:10; Deut. 3:27; Judg. 1:16. Similarly, Isa. 35:9 ("no ravenous beast will come up [to the highway]"). Joel 2:7-9 depicts a great army attacking Jerusalem (cf. G. W. Ahlström, *Joel and the Temple Cult of Jerusalem*, SVT, XXI [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971], 11ff.), vss. 7-8a describing the final irresistible onslaught; in vs. 8b the city is entered (through, not over, *haš-šelaḥ*) and in vs. 9 it is ransacked. Given this sequence of events, vs. 7a should be rendered "like warriors they charge, like men-of-war they come up (to) the wall." Isa. 60:7 may be treated in this way as well, although the version in 1QIsa^{a} (which supplies the preposition 'L) is probably to be preferred; cf. Austel, "Prepositional and Non-Prepositional Complements," pp. 220f. note 23. On Isa. 34:13 and Ps. 104:8, see below. Only in Gen. 49:4 and Isa. 57:8 does the idea of "mounting" seem preferable, although here too it is not imperative.

An identical situation obtains in those passages comparable to 1 Sam. 9:13 where subordination is by means of the -H suffix:[1]

List No. 4. 'LH (in Qal) + -H

1. Noun as Destination
    - a. *bāmâ* ("bamah"): 1 Sam. 9:13
    - b. *har* ("mountain"): Ex. 24:12; Deut. 1:24, 41, 43; 9:9; 10:1, 3
    - c. *ya'ar* ("forest"): Josh. 17:15
    - d. *'îr* ("city"): Josh. 6:20
    - e. *šāmayim* ("heaven"): Deut. 30:12; Josh. 8:20; Judg. 13:20; 20:40
    - f. *ša'ar* ("gate"): Deut. 25:7

The -H suffix formerly was considered to be a remnant of the old accusative case ending, the *h* being a vowel-letter.[2] Its presence in Ugaritic where matres lectionis are rare, however, indicates that the h stands for a consonant in its own right;[1] the formation is now thought to be an independent adverbial suffix.[2] Its primary semantic function is to mark the goal or direction of movement, i.e., it is basically terminative and not locative.[3] The 'LH + -H construction conforms to this general rule, for in each case the traveller "goes up" to (i.e., in the direction of), not upon, his destination.[1]

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[1] Cf. Austel, "Prepositional and Non-Prepositional Complements," pp. 204f.

[2] Cf. C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, I (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1908), 464; Gesenius, *Hebrew Grammar*, pp. 249ff.; Bauer and Leander, *Historische Grammatik*, pp. 527ff.; L. H. Gray, *Introduction to Semitic Comparative Linguistics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), p. 57; Joüon, *Grammaire*, pp. 222ff., 372. This view was challenged by C. Sarauw who advocated an adverbial origin unrelated to the accusative case ending ("Der hebräische Lokativ," *ZA*, XX [1907], 183-189).

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[1] Cf. J. Blau and S. E. Loewenstamm, "Zur Frage der Scripto Plena im Ugaritischen und Verwandtes," UF, II (1970), 19-33 (on this point, see especially pp. 32f.).

[2] So, e.g., Meek, "Hebrew Accusative," pp. 228ff.; W. F. Albright, "The Old Testament and Canaanite Language and Literature," CBQ, VII (1945), 22; E. A. Speiser, "The Terminative-Adverbial in Canaanite-Ugaritic and Akkadian," Oriental and Biblical Studies, ed. by J. J. Finkelstein and M. Greenberg (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1967), pp. 494, 497f. (= IEJ, IV [1954], 108, 109f.); H. Cazelles, "Quelques Publications récentes de Linguistique Sémitique," GLECS, VII (1954-1957), 5f.; S. Moscati, "On Semitic Case Endings," JNES, XVII (1958), 143; M. Dahood, Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology, Biblica et Orientalia, XVII (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965), 33; C. Rabin, "The Structure of the Semitic System of Case Endings," Proceedings of the International Conference on Semitic Studies (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1969), p. 190 note 4. Doubts have been expressed by Hoftijzer ("Remarks," p. 9) and by E. Y. Kutscher ("Further Remarks to Gordon's Volume," Lešonenu, XXXI [1966], 34f. [in Hebrew with English summary]); it is referred to as an "adverbial accusative" by J. Margain, "Le '-AH de Direction' en Hébreu," GLECS, XIV (1969-1970), 1-17.

[3] This is clearly so in a majority of its occurrences. Meek claims that "the so-called locative h is terminative only and should be renamed the terminative h" ("Hebrew Accusative," p. 233). Speiser considers a locative nuance to be a secondary semantic development ("Terminative-Adverbial," p. 496 [= IEJ, IV (1954), 109]); cf. M. C. Astour, "Two Ugaritic Serpent Charms, JNES, XXVII (1968), 19, and especially Margain, "Le '-AH de Direction'," pp. 1-17.

When upward movement resulting in superimposition is intended, subordination is by means of the preposition 'L:[2]

List No. 5. 'LH (in Qal) + 'L

1. Noun as Destination
    - a. *’āpîq* ("channel"): Isa. 8:7
    - b. *bom^{o}tê 'āb* ("bamoth of a cloud"): Isa. 14:14
    - c. *gāg* ("roof"): Josh. 2:8; Judg. 9:51
    - d. *har* ("mountain"): Isa. 40:9
    - e. *mizbēaḥ* ("altar"): Ex. 20:26; 1 Sam. 2:28; 1 Kgs. 12:33 (twice); Hos. 10:8; Ps. 51:21
    - f. *ma'^{a}lôt* ("steps"): Neh. 12:37

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[1] There appears to be little semantic distinction (save perhaps for emphasis) between 'LH + 0 and 'LH + -H: e.g., "the people went up city-ward [and captured it]" (Josh. 6:20; cf. 1 Sam. 9:14); "the smoke of the city went up heaven-ward" (Josh. 8:20; cf. 1 Sam. 5:12); the woman "will go up gate-ward to the elders" (Deut. 25:7; cf. Ruth 4:1); "go up forest-ward [and clear land for settlement]" (Josh. 17:15; cf. 2 Kgs. 19:23 and Isa. 37:24). In Deut. 1:24 the destination is the "hill-country" (*har*) to which the spies were going; similarly vss. 41 and 43. On Ex. 24:12 and Deut. 10:1ff., see below.

[2] Cf. Austel, "Prepositional and Non-Prepositional Complements," pp. 219ff. The hostile sense of "to go up against" occurs in 2 Kgs. 18:25 (twice), Isa. 36:1 and 10 (twice), Ezek. 38:11, and Joel 1:6.

g. m^{e}ṣûdâ ("stronghold"): 1 Sam. 24:23[1]

h. '^{a}lîyâ ("upper chamber" [?]): 2 Sam. 19:1[2]

i. 'ereś ("bed"): Ps. 132:3

j. sawwā'r ("neck"): Lam. 1:14

k. rō'š ("head"): Judg. 13:5; 16:17; 1 Sam. 1:11

l. tîkôn ("middle [story]"): 1 Kgs. 6:8[3]

2. Pronoun as Destination

a. -ô ("it"): 2 Kgs. 16:12 (= mizbēaḥ, "altar")

When the text is secure,[4] the nature of the destination and the context of the passage leave no doubt as to the meaning of the construction: e.g., "they went up upon the roof of the tower" (Judg. 9:51; cf. Josh. 2:8); "a razor will not go up upon his head" (Judg. 13:5; 16:17; 1 Sam. 1:11);[1] "you shall not go up upon my altar by steps" (Ex. 20:26).[2] In Isa. 8:7 Assyria is pictured as a river which has risen over (= 'LH + 'L) its embankments[3] and will flow unimpeded into Judah; this contrasts Ps. 104:8 where the waters rise up to (= 'LH + Ø) the mountains but do not cover them.[4] Similarly, in Isa. 40:9 the messenger is told to go up upon (= 'LH + 'L) a mountain in order to be heard by "the cities of Judah," while in Ex. 24:12 Moses is ordered to go up to (= 'LH + -H) the mountain.[5]

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[1] BH cites 33 manuscripts which read ʼL; this is also suggested by the LXX (eis) and Targum (L) and may be preferable to the MT.

[2] According to Moore, this word refers to "an additional, ordinarily third, story raised above the flat roof of the house [and which] generally contains but a single apartment, of larger or smaller dimensions, through which latticed windows on all sides give free circulation of air, making it the most comfortable part of the house" (*Judges*, p. 96). 2 Kgs. 4:10 suggests a furnished rooftop chamber. If this is the case here, perhaps the MT's 'L is in error for ʼL; see 1 Kgs. 17:19 and cf. also 2 Kgs. 4:11. The LXX has eis, and the Targum's 'L is inconclusive. See note 4 below.

[3] BH cites ʼL in a number of manuscripts; the LXX has eis. This reading is adopted by Gray, *I-II Kings*, p. 162 note c. Note that in vs. 8bβ ʼL is used for the "third (story)."

[4] See the preceding three notes. As an alternative to emendation it could be argued that in these passages 'L is semantically indistinct from ʼL. This possibility will be discussed in connection with Isa. 16:12 in Chapter III.J below.

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[1] In the act of shaving the razor is literally "upon" the head.

[2] Also 1 Sam. 2:28; 1 Kgs. 12:33 (twice); 2 Kgs. 16:12; Ps. 51:21. On Hos. 10:8, see below.

[3] I.e., the waters now flow on top of (= HLK + 'L) that which formerly constrained them.

[4] The initial position of the primordial waters is 'al-hārîm, i.e., covering the earth (vs. 6b; cf. vs. 9b); Yahweh causes them to recede to where they belong in an orderly cosmos (vs. 8b).

[5] Ex. 24:12 and Deut. 10:1ff. are somewhat ambiguous, but in neither does Moses conclude his journey on top of the mountain; hāhār refers to the area within which the meeting with Yahweh takes place. Thus in Ex. 24:12 Moses is told to go up mountain-ward to Yahweh; he obeys by going up (in)to (= 'LH + ’L) the mountain

The regular use of 'LH for the growth of vegetation (Gen. 41:5; Deut. 29:21; etc.) and the fact that, except for the creeping variety, plants cannot be said to move from place to place complicate an assessment of Isa. 34:13aα (*w^{e}'al^{e}tâ 'arm^{e}nōtêhā sîrîm*) and Hos. 10:8b (*qôṣ w^{e}dardar ya'^{a}leh 'al-mizb^{e}ḫōtām*). Both passages refer to unwanted plant growth as a symbol of desolation and abandonment, but they use slightly different imagery. The plant in Isa. 34:13aα has been identified as a spiny thorn bush commonly used for hedges;[1] given the semantic content of the other examples of the 'LH + ∅ construction, the picture seems to be of wild shrubbery flourishing in the unkempt areas surrounding the stately homes. The plants mentioned in Hos. 10:8b, on the other hand, are weeds[2] which will grow on top of the ruined altars.[3]

(vss. 13, 15, 18a), a journey which results in his being in (B)--not on top of ('L)--the mountain for forty days and forty nights (vs. 18b). The scene in Deut. 10:1ff. is identical (cf. Ex. 34:2ff.).

[1] Cf. M. Zohary, "Flora," *Interpreters Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. by G. A. Buttrick *et al*. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), II, 298.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 296.

[3] The use of 'LH + B in Isa. 34:13aβ is comparable.

In this last passage the 'LH + 'L idiom expresses upward movement which occurs while the traveller (in this case, the plant) is upon something else. This idea is also present in Neh. 12:37 where the procession goes up to the Water Gate by treading upon the steps of a particular stairway (*'ālû 'al-ma'^{a}lôt . . . 'ad ša'ar hammayim*). The only other example which will permit this interpretation is Isa. 14:14: "I will go up [to a position] upon *bom^{o}tê 'āb*," or "I will go up [while] upon *bom^{o}tê 'āb*."

BMH is used with 'LH (in Hiphil) in Jer. 48:35b: *ma'^{a}leh bāmâ ûmaqṭîr lē'lōhāyw*. Non-prepositional subordination with this stem is rare, but it is attested:

List No. 6. 'LH (in Hiphil) + ∅

1. Noun as Destination
    - a. *bayit* ("house"): 1 Kgs. 10:5; 2 Chron. 9:4
    - b. *bāmâ* ("bamah"): Jer. 48:35
    - c. *'îr* ("city"): 2 Sam. 6:12
    - d. *šāmayim* ("heaven"): 2 Kgs. 2:1

In addition, this construction occurs with the proper place-names "Hor the mountain" (Num. 20:25), "Jerusalem" (2 Chron. 2:15), "the Valley of Achor" (Josh. 7:24), and "Bamoth-Baal"

(Num. 22:41). The Hiphil of 'LH can signify either "to bring (something or someone) up" or "to offer up (a sacrifice)." The former is the intended sense in all but one of these passages: e.g., "when Yahweh (was ready to) bring Elijah up (to) heaven" (2 Kgs. 2:1; cf. vs. 11). In none of these does the act of "bringing up" result in superimposition;[1] the construction seems to imply, as with this verb in Qal, general upward movement toward an elevated destination. The exception is 1 Kgs. 10:5; the Queen of Sheba was impressed by many things which she saw at Solomon's court, including *'ōlātô '^{a}šer ya'^{a}leh bêt YHWH*, "his burnt-offering which he offered up (in) the House of Yahweh" (cf. 2 Chron. 24:14b).[2]

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[1] Note that when the instructions given in Num. 20:25 (*ha'al 'ōtām hōr hāhār*) are carried out, the three men "went up to [= 'L] Hor the mountain" (vs. 27b), and Aaron dies "there *b^{e}rō'š hāhār*" (vs. 28; cf. also vs. 23).

[2] The parallel in 2 Chron. 9:4 reads *'^{a}lîyātô '^{a}šer ya'^{a}leh bet YHWH*. The first word is probably a scribal error: the LXX presupposes *'ōlātô* (cf. Allen, *Greek Chronicles, I*, p. 47) or *'ōlôtāyw*. The tendency has been to emend both 1 Kgs. 10:5 and 2 Chron. 9:4 to read *'^{a}lōtô*, a reference either to an architectural feature (cf. Ezek. 40:26; so, e.g., J. M. Meyers, *II Chronicles*, AB, XIII [Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1965], 52; F. Michaeli, *Les Livres des Chroniques, d'Esdras et de Néhémie*, CAT, XVI [Neuchatel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1967], 165) or to the royal procession up to the Temple (so, e.g., J. A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings*, ed. by H. S. Gehman, ICC, X [Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1951], 228; Gray, *I-II Kings*, p. 258 note c); the latter seems to fit the context better. The change is very attractive, but the only reason for abandoning *'ōlātô*/*'ōlôtāyw* is the assumption that a display of Solomon's "burnt-

II.C. *The Use of BMH with the Verb RKB*

BMH is twice used with the verb RKB (in Hiphil): *yarkibēhû 'al bom^{o}tê 'āreṣ*[1] (Deut. 32:13aα), and *hirkabtîkâ 'al-bom^{o}tê 'āreṣ*[2] (Isa. 58:14aβ). The imagery in both passages is identical; Yahweh causes Israel (personified) to perform an action symbolic of his exhalted status as Yahweh's favorite. The nature of that action has caused commentators some difficulty. The nominal formations *rekeb*, *merkāb*, and *merkābâ* refer to vehicles ("chariots"), and the verb itself occurs most often in contexts involving vehicular transportation. Sigmund Mowinckel has deduced from this that RKB can mean "to drive," i.e., to move horizontally while in a chariot or similar conveyance,[3] and he claims that this sense is applicable here.[4] This is disputed by W. L. Moran who argues that the movement

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offering(s)" would have been less appropriate than a display of royal panoply to so impress the visiting dignitary. Cf. Burney, *Notes*, p. 144.

[1] *Qere*.

[2] *Qere*.

[3] S. Mowinckel, "Drive and/or Ride in O.T.," *VT*, XII (1962), 278-299.

[4] *Ibid*., p. 298.

expressed by RKB is always vertical, i.e., "that of mounting and taking one's position."[1]

The passages syntactically comparable to Deut. 32:13aα and Isa. 58:14aβ support Moran's contention:

List No. 7. RKB (in Hiphil) + 'L

1. Noun as Prepositional Object
    - a. bom^{o}tê ʼāreṣ ("bamoth of earth"): Deut. 32:13; Isa. 58:14
    - b. ḥ^{a}môr ("ass"): Ex. 4:20
    - c. sûs ("horse"): Est. 6:9
    - d. '^{a}galâ ("cart"): 1 Chron. 13:7
    - e. pirdâ ("she-mule"): 1 Kgs. 1:33, 38, 44
    - f. qešet ("bow"): 2 Kgs. 13:16
    - g. rekeb ("chariot"): 2 Chron. 35:24

In each case one object is moved up onto something else, usually as a prelude to horizontal movement: Moses puts his wife and sons upon an ass "and returns to the land of Egypt" (Ex. 4:20); Solomon is placed upon the royal mule "and brought down to Gihon" (1 Kgs. 1:33, 38);[1] the wounded Josiah is placed upon his chariot "and brought to Jerusalem" (2 Chron. 35:24).[2] The expression seems incongruous in 2 Kgs. 13:16, but it is well suited to describe the tightening of the bowstring before the bow is used.[3]

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[1] W. L. Moran, "Some Remarks on the Song of Moses," Biblica, XLIII (1962), 326 (cf. pp. 323ff.). See also A. B. Ehrlich, Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel, II (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1909), 342, and R. de Langhe, "La Bible et la Litterature Ugaritique," L'Ancien Testament et l'Orient, Orientalia et Biblica Louvaniensia, I (Louvain: Publications Universitaires, 1957), 85ff. De Langhe concludes that "le sens fondamental du verbe RKB n'est pas 'chevaucher, être à cheval sur,' main 'être placé sur, se poser sur, monter'" (p. 86).

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[1] Solomon's sitting upon the royal mule in conjunction with his anointment at Gihon signified to the people--especially to Adonijah and his supporters--that the succession had the approval of the reigning king; cf. vss. 43ff. ("David has made Solomon king . . . and they have placed him upon [= RKB + 'L] the king's mule and . . . have anointed him king at Gihon"). Similarly, in Est. 6:9 the sign of honor is to be displayed in royal attire upon a royal horse in (B) a plaza of the city (cf. also vs. 11).

[2] 1 Chron. 13:7 reads wayyarkîbû ʼet-ʼᵃrôn hāʼᵉlōhîm 'al-'ᵃgālâ ḫᵃdāšâ mibbêt ʼᵃbînādāb, while the parallel in 2 Sam. 6:3 reads wayyarkibû ʼet-ʼᵃrôn hāʼᵉlōhîm ʼel-'ᵃgālâ ḫᵃdāšâ wayyiś-šāʼuhû mibbêt ʼᵃbînādāb; the latter is probably the more original. Note the interchangeability of 'L and ʼL.

[3] One does not place one's hands up upon a bow in the act of "drawing" the bowstring (so RSV, etc.). When stringing a bow, however, the curved ends of the arc must be depressed while the bowstring in secured. This is done by kneeling on the center of the bow and grasping its upturned extremities; the bow is bent by the downward pressure/movement of the knee and the upward pressure/movement of the arms and hands. With this interpretation, the actions in 2 Kgs. 13:15ff. are perfectly sequential; the king takes the bow (vs. 15), strings it (vs. 16), opens a window, and shoots (vs. 17). This stringing operation is depicted in an Assyrian relief (see Yadin, Art of Warfare, II, 295, 453) which shows a

II.D. The Use of BMH with the Preposition B

The preposition regularly used when speaking of a bamah installation is B, commonly considered to express the basic idea of position or movement "within some definite region."[1] We read repeatedly in 1-2 Kings that "still the people (were) sacrificing and burning incense babbāmôt."[2] Ahaz is said to have "sacrificed and burned incense babbāmôt" (2 Kgs. 16:4 [= 2 Chron. 28:4]), as did Solomon (1 Kgs. 3:3); Judaean kings are said to have installed priests "to burn incense babbāmôt" (2 Kgs. 23:5).[3] Samuel is expected to preside at a sacrifice "babbāmâ" (1 Sam. 9:12). According to the Chronicler, the Tabernacle and Moses' altar of burnt offerings were "babbāmâ" at Gibeon during David's reign (1 Chron. 16:39; 21:29). In Ps. 78:58 Israel is said to have angered Yahweh "b^{e}bāmôtām."

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second man attaching the loose end of the bowstring to the bow while the first holds the weapon in the necessary position. Could Elisha be performing this service when he "puts his hands upon the hands of the king" (vs. 16b)?

[1] Gesenius, Hebrew Grammar, p. 379. Cf. also Brockelmann, Grundriss, II, p. 363; Joüon, Grammaire, p. 403; Brockelmann, Hebräische Syntax, p. 96; D. G. Pardee, "The Preposition in Ugaritic" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1974), p. 327.

[2] 1 Kgs. 22:44; 2 Kgs. 12:4; 14:4; 15:4, 35. Cf. 1 Kgs. 3:2; 2 Kgs. 17:11; 2 Chron. 33:17.

[3] The MT is defective; see Chapter III.G.1 below.

This uniformity would suggest *prima facie* that a bamah was something *within* which one performed cultic acts and placed cultic objects.

This uniformity is interrupted only by Isa. 16:12 where cultic activity is said to be conducted "*'al-habbāmâ*." To maintain that this one isolated passage[1] represents the true character of bamoth as natural or artificial elevations (hills, mounds, platforms, etc.), B in the passages just cited must be assigned the idea of superimposition normally indicated by the preposition 'L.[2] Vaughan, the most recent exponent of this view, thus states that the phrase *babbāmôt* "is ambiguous, and may mean either *upon* the bamoth (platforms), or *at* the bamoth (sanctuaries)."[3] This supposed "ambiguity" is very much in evidence in the RSV which vacillates between "in," "at," and "on."[4] The LXX is more consistent with its renddering *en*, but occasionally *epi* has been used.[1] These translations, as interpretations of the Hebrew, demonstrate the lack of systemization with which the B + BMH combination has been treated, for there is nothing in the content of these passages (save for Ps. 78:58) to prompt differing renderings of the preposition.[2]

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[1] As noted above (p. 12 note 1), *'^{a}lêhem* does not refer to *bāmôt* in Ezek. 16:16.

[2] Cf. p. 12 note 1 above.

[3] Vaughan, *Meaning*, p. 31.

[4] *In*: 2 Kgs. 23:5; Jer. 48:35; 1 Chron. 16:39; 21:29. *At*: 1 Kgs. 3:2, 3; 2 Chron. 33:17. *On*: 1 Sam. 9:12; 1 Kgs. 22:44; 2 Kgs. 12:4; 14:4; 15:4, 35; 16:4; 17:11; 2 Chron. 28:4. The phrase in Ps. 78:58 is rendered "with their high places." A sim-

Hebrew lexica do credit B with the idea of superimposition under certain circumstances. Koehler-Baumgartner states that when "connected with high objects B means *upon*," citing *b^{e}ḫōreb* (1 Kgs. 8:9) and *bassûsîm* (Isa. 66:20).[3] Brown-Driver-Briggs notes that *bāhār* is used "even in cases where we could hardly avoid saying *on*" (e.g., 1 Kgs. 11:7; 19:11; cf. Ex. 24:17 and Ps. 72:16);[4] further examples cited for the use of

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ilar variation occurs in the Coverdale Bible (1535). The Geneva Bible (1560) is consistent with *in* (but *with* in Ps. 78:58); the KJV (1611) also has *in*, but inexplicably (influence from Coverdale?) resorts to *on* in 2 Kgs. 14:4 and 15:4. Luther uses *auf* throughout.

[1] *Epi* occurs in 1 Kgs. 3:2, 2 Chron. 28:4 and 33:17 (all with *hupsēla*), and Ps. 78:58 (with *bounos*). Cf. also 1 Kgs. 12:31.

[2] The instrumental sense of B in Ps. 78:58a is suggested by the parallelism.

[3] Koehler and Baumgartner, *Lexicon*, p. 100 (= Holladay, *Lexicon*, p. 32).

[4] Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *Lexicon*, p. 88.

B where 'L would be expected are b^{e}sawwā’rîm (Judg. 8:21), b^{e}rō’šô (Isa. 59:17), b^{e}motnāyw (1 Kgs. 2:5), and--significantly--bammizbēaḥ (Gen. 8:20; Num. 23:2).[1] B is often used with the hostile nuance "against," and is thus equivalent to 'L with this same nuance.[2] The interchangeability of B and 'L is claimed for Ugaritic as well.[3]

Recent discussion of prepositional "ambiguity" or "interchangeability" has focused upon the apparent semantic fluidity between B, L, 'L, and MN. It is claimed that because these prepositions "are not clearly distinguishable in meaning"[4] all can mean "from." Strong support for this view has come from the lack of a special preposition "from" in Ugaritic[5] and the concomitant necessity for a substitute means of expressing this concept within this language system. Cyrus H. Gordon begins his synopsis of Ugaritic prepositional usage accordingly by observing that its "most interesting feature . . . is the meaning from for both B and L. . . . B is either in(to), by, with, or from, while L is either to, for, or from";[1] he then cites a number of biblical examples of Hebrew B and L with the meaning "from" by analogy with (or in confirmation of) this meaning of their Ugaratic counterparts.[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 89.

[2] Cf. Joüon, Grammaire, pp. 403f.

[3] UT, p. 93 (with examples).

[4] W. Chomsky, "The Ambiguity of the Prefixed Prepositions MN, L, B in the Bible," JQR, LXI (1970), 87.

[5] The apparent occurrence of MN in 1015.11 is anomalous; cf. the discussion by Pardee, "Preposition in Ugaritic," pp. 97, 239, and especially 334ff.

This so-called "principle of interchangeability" is open to criticism on several fronts. Barr, e.g., has questioned "the communicative efficiency of a language in which the word for to and the word for from are apparently identical."[3] Appreciation of the idiomatic usage of prepositions has been advanced as an alternative to uncontrolled prepositional interchange. C. Brekelmans calls attention to Ugar.

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[1] UT, p. 92.

[2] See further N. M. Sarna, "The Interchange of the Prepositions Beth and Min in Biblical Hebrew," JBL, LXXVIII (1959), 310-316; Chomsky, "Ambiguity of Prefixed Prepositions," pp. 87-89; C. F. Whitley, "Some Functions of the Hebrew Particles BETH and LAMEDH," JQR, LXII (1972), 199-206. The scholar who has exploited prepositional "ambiguity" to maximum advantage is M. Dahood; of his many discussions of the question see, e.g., "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography, I," Biblica, XLIV (1963), 299ff.

[3] Barr, Comparative Philology, p. 175. Cf. the rejoinder by M. Dahood, "Comparative Philology Yesterday and Today," Biblica, L (1969), 76f.

(also Hebr. and Aram.) ŠTY + B, Fr. *boire* + *dans*, and Eng. *to drink* + *from*, three Verb + Preposition idioms referring to exactly the same activity but which, by the use of different prepositions, look upon that activity from somewhat different perspectives; the Semitic and French idioms emphasize where the liquid was before it is drunk, while their English equivalent emphasizes the separation of the liquid from its container as a result of its being drunk.[1] B and *dans* do not actually *mean* "from" (i.e., MN or *de*) here, even though they must be so translated in idiomatic English.[2] It becomes necessary, therefore, to consider the larger complex of words--and especially the verbs--with which a preposition is used and the way in which the writer views the prepositional relationship being expressed in order to determine the sense of that preposition in a given passage.

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[1] C. Brekelmans, "The Preposition B = FROM in the Psalms according to M. Dahood," *UF*, I (1969), 7. Cf also E. F. Sutcliffe, "A Note on *'al*, *l^{e}*, and *from*," *VT*, V (1955), 436-439; Barr, *Comparative Philology*, p. 117; G. Schmuttermayr, "Ambivalenz und Aspektdifferenz: Bemerkungen zu den hebräischen Präpositionen B, L und MN," *BZ*, XV (1971), 29-51; Pardee, "Preposition in Ugaritic," pp. 270ff.; Z. Zevit, "The So-Called Interchangeability of the Prepositions B, L and M(N) in Northwest Semitic," *JANES*, VII (1975), 103-112.

[2] This lack of congruence further illustrates the imprecision inherent in the translation process (cf. pp. 21f. above). Since we interpret the ancient texts in terms of our own subconscious linguistic outlook, it is easy to assume that the texts themselves reflect that same perspective. Attention has been called to the fact that many examples of supposed prepositional interchangeability within a given language system are due to the necessities of an idiomatic translation in another language system: see, e.g., Barr, *Comparative Philology*, p. 117; Brekelmans, "The Preposition B = FROM in the Psalms," pp. 5ff.; C. J. Labuschagne, review of A. C. M. Blommerde, *Northwest Semitic Grammar and Job*, in *UF*, III (1971), 374; Pardee, "Preposition in Ugaritic," p. 13 note 1.

The two Verb + Preposition idioms regularly used with BMH are ZBḤ + B and QṬR + B. If the preposition B does mean "upon" when these expressions are used of bamoth, we would expect to find this meaning applicable also in passages where these expressions refer to other objects. But if the idea of superimposition is confined to the bamah references, the probability of such an interpretation of these passages must be considered doubtful on the grounds that it contradicts normal Hebrew usage. A survey of the occurrences of ZBḤ and QṬR with B and 'L finds the latter to be the case:[1]

List No. 8. ZBḤ (in Qal) + B

1. Noun as Prepositional Object
    - a. *’ōhel* ("tent"): Ps. 27:6
    - b. *’ereṣ* ("land"): Ex. 8:21

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[1] Occurrences of the temporal use of B are omitted. This usage is regular in Hebrew (and Ugaritic) and implies only an attitudinal difference in time-reckoning from that implicit in the English idiom "on that day."

c. bāmôt ("bamoth"): 2 Chron. 33:17

d. gan ("garden"): Isa. 65:3

e. har ("mountain"): Gen. 31:54

f. midbār ("wilderness"): Ex. 8:24

g. māqôm ("place"): Deut. 16:2

h. šaʿar ("gate"): Deut. 12:15, 21; 16:5

List No. 9. ZBḤ (in Piel) + B

1. Noun as Prepositional Object

   a. bāmôt ("bamoth"): 1 Kgs. 3:2, 3; 22:44; 2 Kgs. 12:4; 14:4; 15:4, 35; 16:4; 2 Chron. 28:4

List No. 10. ZBḤ (in Qal) + 'L

1. Noun as Prepositional Object

   a. har ("mountain"): Ezek. 39:17

   b. mizbēaḥ ("altar"): 2 Kgs. 23:20

   c. pānîm ("face"): Lev. 17:5

2. Pronoun as Prepositional Object

   a. -kā ("you"): 1 Kgs. 13:2 (= mizbēaḥ, "altar")

   b. -ô ("it"): Ex. 20:24; Josh. 8:31; 2 Chron. 33:16 (all = mizbēaḥ, "altar")

List No. 11. ZBḤ (in Piel) + 'L

1. Noun as Prepositional Object

   a. gib'â ("hill"): 2 Kgs. 16:4; 2 Chron. 28:4

b. *rō'š* ("top"): Hos. 4:13

List No. 12. QṬR (in Piel) + B

1. Noun as Prepositional Object

a. *'ereṣ* ("land"): Jer. 44:8

b. *bāmôt* ("bamoth"): 1 Kgs. 22:44; 2 Kgs. 12:4; 14:4; 15:4, 35; 16:4; 17:11; 23:5; 2 Chron. 28:4

c. *ḥûṣ* ("street"): Jer. 44:21

d. *'îr* ("city"): Jer. 44:21

2. Pronoun as Prepositional Object

a. -*ô* ("it"): Jer. 19:4 (= *māqôm*, "place")

List No. 13. QṬR (in Hiphil) + B

1. Noun as Prepositional Object

a. *bāmôt* ("bamoth"): 1 Kgs. 3:3

b. *gay'* ("valley"): 2 Chron. 28:3

c. *qōdeš* ("holy-place"): 2 Chron. 29:7

List No. 14. QṬR (in Piel) + 'L

1. Noun as Prepositional Object

a. *gib'â* ("hill"): 2 Kgs. 16:4; 2 Chron. 28:4; Hos. 4:13

b. *gāg* ("roof"): Jer. 19:13; 32:29

c. *har* ("mountain"): Isa. 65:7

d. *l^{e}bēnâ* ("brick"): Isa. 65:3

List No. 15. QṬR (in Hiphil) + 'L

1. Noun as Prepositional Object
   - a. *'iššeh* ("fire-offering"): Lev. 4:35; 5:12
   - b. *l^{e}bōnâ* ("frankincense"): Lev. 2:16
   - c. *mizbēaḫ* ("altar"): Lev. 4:10; 9:13, 17; 2 Kgs. 16:13, 15; 1 Chron. 6:34; 2 Chron. 26:16
   - d. *'ôlâ* ("burnt-offering"): Lev. 3:5; 8:28; 9:14
   - e. *'ēṣîm* ("[fire]wood"): Lev. 1:17
2. Pronoun as Prepositional Object
   - a. -*kā* ("you"): 1 Kgs. 13:2 (= *mizbēaḫ*, "altar")
   - b. -*ô* ("it"): Ex. 30:7; 40:27; 2 Chron. 32:12 (all = *mizbēaḫ*, "altar")
   - c. -*āh* ("it"): Lev. 6:5 (= *môqēd*, "altar-hearth")

The pattern is unmistakable. When the verbal action is envisioned as taking place on top of the object in question, this superimposition is indicated by the preposition 'L. The objects referred to--mountains, hills, mountain-tops, roofs, bricks, altars, an altar-hearth (i.e., the top of the altar itself or a special fixture placed thereupon), the wood and other offerings already placed upon the altar--are all capable of having sacrificial acts conducted *upon* them, directly as in the case of an altar (where the offerings are placed) or indirectly as in the case of a mountain-top (where the worshipper is located when he makes his offering).[1] In those passages where the preposition B is used, however, superimposition is precluded both by the context and by the nature of the objects mentioned--cities, a tent, gardens, streets (lit. "the area outside"), the wilderness, a valley, gates (here used figuratively for urban settlements), a place (here a sanctuary), a holy-place (here part of the Temple), a particular "land" (both references are to Egypt). It is impossible to imagine sacrificial acts being conducted "upon" a tent! All of these objects are capable of being entered either as regions, enclosed areas, or buildings, and the preposition used indicates that the verbal action is envisioned as taking place *within* them.

Exception might be taken at Gen. 31:54: *wayyizbaḥ ya'ᵃqōb zebaḥ bāhār*. The RSV reads "on the mountain," making *bāhār* synonymous with *'al-hāhār*. But such an interpretation misrepresents the scene, for it is evident from vss. 21ff. that the meeting with Laban and the culminating sacrifice are seen to take place *within* a mountainous region--"the hill-country of Gilead"--and not on the summit of ('L) a particular mountain.[1] The examples cited earlier for B with the idea of superimposition when used with *har* can also be explained in this fashion.[2]

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[1] When one is said to sacrifice "upon the face of the field" (Lev. 17:5) the sense may be that the sacrificial act takes place directly "upon the ground" or that the worshipper is "in the field" when he sacrifices. These alternatives may be given in Swedish as "på marken" (so the Swedish Bible) and "på landet," respectively. *På* (most closely equivalent to Eng. *upon*) cannot be considered "interchangeable" with *i* (= Eng. *in*), even though an English translation of the Swedish phrases would suggest it.

On the basis of Hebrew usage, therefore, it is difficult to maintain that sacrificing and incense burning were conducted *upon* a bamah. Such an interpretation of the preposition B when used with ZBḤ and QṬR would be without precedent in the Old Testament. The nature of the objects and the general context demand the sense of *position within* in every example; in none can B be said to be "interchangeable" with 'L. When the two occur in tandem their meanings are clearly differentiated. Thus Isa. 65:3 speaks of "sacrificing in gardens and burning incense upon bricks" without any possibility of prepositional "ambiguity." This text should be compared with 2 Kgs. 16:4 (= 2 Chron. 28:4) which states that Ahaz "sacrificed and burned incense babbāmôt and upon the hills and under every green tree." The burden of proof must surely lie with anyone who wishes to equate B and 'L here, but not in Isa. 65:3.

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[1] Similarly, 'LH + B and 'LH + 'L are not synonymous. When used with *har* the sense of the former is "to go up into a mountain," i.e., the traveller concludes his journey surrounded by mountainous terrain (e.g., Ex. 19:12, 13; Deut. 5:5; Josh. 16:1; 18:12; Ps. 24:3). Many examples of the 'LH + 0 and 'LH + -H constructions seem to have this same idea in mind, and a measure of semantic overlap with 'LH + B is not impossible. But when the mountain is viewed as a concrete geographical feature which can be stood upon, 'LH + 'L is used (Isa. 40:9).

[2] The mountain is seen as a region in 1 Kgs. 8:9, 11:7 and 19:11: e.g., when carrying out his instructions to "stand *bāhār* before Yahweh" Elijah stands at the entrance to his cave and not on the mountain-top (19:11). Ps. 72:16 parallels *bā'āreṣ* and *bᵉrō'š hārîm* as two areas "in" which grain will grow. In Ex. 24:17 the imagery is of a great fire filling (B) the area of the mountain-top upon ('L) which the glory of Yahweh had settled (vs. 16).

II.E. Conclusions

This survey of syntactical usage has determined several semantic limitations for the decipherment of BMH. Most important is the fact that the cultic installation which the word identifies must be something that can be entered and within which cultic acts can be performed. The cumulative evidence is overwhelming. The widely held view of a bamah as a type of altar is syntactically impossible; altars are mounted (= 'LH + 'L) and worshipped upon (= ZBḤ + 'L and QṬR + 'L), and they cannot be entered.[1] That a bamah might be a platform or podium is likewise rendered extremely improbable.[1]

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[1] In defense of this identification one might cite the few passages where mizbēaḥ is used with the preposition B: YQD + B

This survey also suggests that a bamah was so situated as to require the worshipper to go up to it, and to come down from it.[2] This conclusion must be qualified, for the relevant texts refer to three specific bamah installations which may or

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(Lev. 6:2, 5); NG' + B (Ex. 29:37); 'LH (in Hiphil) + B (Gen. 8:20; Num. 23:2, 4, 14, 30). The use of B with NG' and other verbs of striking or grasping is quite regular (cf. Gesenius, Hebrew Grammar, p. 379), due no doubt to the way in which the verbal action was viewed (cf. Swed. "gripa tag i"). The other two are more difficult to explain; YQD + B appears alongside YQD + 'L (Lev. 6:6), while 'LH (in Hiphil) + B runs contrary to the abundantly attested 'LH (in Hiphil) + 'L. Both permit the circumlocution "within (the area on top of) the altar" as a clumbersome alternative to "upon." In any event, the use of B with reference to activity conducted upon an altar is extremely unusual in biblical Hebrew, a fact which severely restricts the value of these precedents for illuminating the sense of B in the expressions mentioning bamoth.

[1] The evidence adduced above does not address this question directly. Note, however, the idiom 'MD + 'L used with kîyôr (2 Chron. 6:13) and 'ammûd (2 Kgs. 11:14, 23:3; 2 Chron. 23:13, 34:31 [as emended]); both of these words refer to some sort of platform-like structures located in the precincts of the Jerusalem Temple. For a discussion of 'ammûd in conjunction with archaeological evidence, see A. Kuschke and M. Metzger, "Kumudi und die Ausgrabungen auf Tell Kamid el-Loz," SVT, XXII (1972), 165f.; cf. G. von Rad, "The Royal Ritual in Judah," The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays, trans. by E. W. T. Dicken (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), pp. 223f.

[2] YRD + MN: 1 Sam. 9:25; 10:5. The meaning of this idiom is self-evident and is consistent with the semantic implications of the various 'LH constructions discussed above.

may not be representative of the phenomenon at large. It is clear in these passages, however, that the bamah itself is not climbed.

Less can be said from this survey about the meaning of the "secular" BMH. In Deut. 32:13 and Isa. 58:14 someone is placed upon *bom^{o}tê-’āreṣ*; the semantic field of RKB suggests an action analogous to mounting an animal, chariot, or other vehicle. Isa. 14:14 has been found to be ambiguous, the syntactical construction yielding two possible interpretations.

CHAPTER III

TEXTUAL AND COMPOSITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS

This chapter will attempt to define more sharply the evidential corpus from which the meaning of BMH can be determined by examining the textual integrity and compositional locus of the biblical materials in which the word occurs. Text- and composition-criticism are hardly exact sciences; objective controls are few. Both enterprises, therefore, must be conducted with circumspection.

III.A. Num. 21:28

The "Song of Heshbon" (Num. 21:27b-30) describes the defeat of Moab at the hands of the Amorite king Sihon. It has been regarded as a taunt-song composed by an Israelite poet following Sihon's defeat by the invading Israelites under Moses,[1] and as a 9th-century Israelite victory-song occasioned by Omri's conquest of Moab.[1] Paul D. Hanson has challenged both of these proposals and in a recent study of the poem argues that it is actually an Amorite victory-song celebrating Sihon's victory over Moab; it subsequently became part of Israel's oral traditions (initially among the Transjordanian tribes which claimed the region mentioned in the song) and was incorporated intact by the "Elohist" into his narrative reconstruction of Israel's early history.[2] He dates the poem to the 13th century.[3]

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[1] See, e.g., H. Ewald, The History of Israel, 4th ed., ed. and trans. by R. Martineau, II (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1883), 205ff.; P. Heinisch, Das Buch Numeri, HSAT, Vol. II, pt. 1 (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1936), p. 84; N. Noth, "Num. 21 als Glied der Hexateuch: Erzählung," ZAW, LVIII (1940), especially 166ff. Cf. also O. Eissfeldt, The Old Testament: An Introduction, trans. by P. R. Ackroyd (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 93.

If Hanson's dating is correct, the earliest biblical example of BMH is to be found in vs. 28: *kî-’ēš yāṣ^{e}’â mēhešbôn lehābâ miqqiryat sîḥōn, ’āk^{e}lâ 'ār mô’āb ba'^{a}lê bāmôt ’arnōn*.

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[1] See, e.g., B. Baentsch, *Exodus-Leviticus-Numeri*, HKAT, Vol. 1, pt. 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1903), pp. 585ff.; J. Marsh, "The Book of Numbers: Introduction and Exegesis," *Interpreter's Bible*, ed. by G. A. Buttrick *et al*., II (New York: Abingdon Press, 1953), 246; N. H. Snaith, *Leviticus and Numbers*, Century Bible (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1967), p. 284.

[2] P. D. Hanson, "The Song of Heshbon and David's *nîr*," *HTR*, LXI (1968), 297-320. Cf. also A. H. van Zyl, *The Moabites*, Pretoria Oriental Series, III (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), 10; A. Weiser, *The Old Testament: Its Formation and Development*, trans. by D. M. Barton (New York: Association Press, 1961), p. 27.

[3] Hanson, "Song of Heshbon," p. 307. According to D. N. Freedman, "this is the only clear example of an unchanged Amorite, i.e., Canaanite, poem in the Bible, dating presumably from the 13th century" ("Archaic Forms in Early Hebrew Poetry," *ZAW*, LXXII [1960], 106).

The LXX offers a slightly different version of the passage; instead of *ba'^{a}lê*, "lords of," it presupposes *bāl^{e}'â*, "(it) swallowed." Many commentators emend the MT accordingly.[1] The change is attractive, for it improves the strict parallel structure of the poem, and if early orthographic practice is taken into account no drastic alteration of the consonantal text is required (reading *bl'* for *b'l*).[2]

Most commentators assume that *bāmôt 'arnōn* is a reference to the rugged terrain bordering the river Arnon.[3] This interpretation would place the word in the "secular" category, even though the pl. construct form *bm(w)ty* otherwise characteristic of the "secular" term is absent.[4] On stylistic grounds we would expect bāmôt 'arnōn to be comparable to 'ār mô'āb. The latter is probably a place-name (cf. Num. 21:15; Deut. 2:9, 18, 29; Isa. 15:1);[1] in view of the exactitude of the parallelisms throughout the poem,[2] bāmôt 'arnōn should perhaps also be seen as a place-name.[3] This possibility is enhanced by the fact that other place-names featuring bāmôt are attested for locations in this general region of Transjordan.[4]

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[1] E.g., Baentsch, *Exodus-Leviticus-Numeri*, p. 586; Heinisch, *Numeri*, p. 84; Snaith, *Leviticus and Numbers*, p. 284; Hanson, "Song of Heshbon," p. 301; M. Noth, *Numbers: A Commentary*, trans. by J. D. Martin, OTL (London: SCM, 1968), p. 161; D. K. Stuart, *Studies in Early Hebrew Meter*, Harvard Semitic Monographs, XIII (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1976), 93. G. B. Gray agrees that some verbal form may have originally stood here, but he does not speculate further (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers*, ICC, IV [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903], 303).

[2] See Hanson, "Song of Heshbon," pp. 299f., 301.

[3] Cf. N. Schmidt, "The River Arnon," *JBL*, XXIV (1905), 212-220, and especially figs. 1, 3, and 4.

[4] See Chapter VII below. The LXX takes it as the "cultic" term and translates it *stēlai* (contrast the treatment of the "secular" BMH in Deut. 32:13 and 33:29). Cf. also the freer Targumic versions.

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[1] It is generally thought to lie south of the Arnon. Hanson and others have questioned the integrity of 'ār on the grounds that Ar was outside the area conquered by the Amorites in the song and is not included among the cities mentioned in vs. 30; the alternative reading would be 'ārê mô'āb, "cities of Moab" (= those listed in vs. 30): Hanson, "Song of Heshbon," p. 301; cf. also Noth, Numbers, p. 161. The change is ill-advised, since the location of Ar is unknown. Cf. Isa. 15-16 which mentions Ar/Kir in conjunction with Heshbon, Dibon, Jahaz, Nebo, and Medeba, i.e., the same geographic area as that represented in the song; see further Chapter VI.D.2 below.

[2] "Heshbon" : "city of Sihon" (vss. 27b, 28a); "built" : "established" (vs. 27b); "fire" : "flame" (vs. 28a); "devoured" : "consumed" (vs. 28b [as emended]); "king of Moab" : "people of Chemosh" (vs. 29a [for the restoration, see Hanson, "Song of Heshbon," p. 302]); "sons" : "daughters" (vs. 29b); "fugatives" : "captives" (vs. 29b).

[3] So J. Sturdy, Numbers, Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 154; J. M. Grintz, "Some Observations on the High-Place in the History of Israel," VT, XXVII (1977), 112.

[4] Bamoth (Num. 21:19, 20); Bamoth-Baal (Num. 22:41; Josh. 13:17). Cf. bt . bmt (MI. 27), mentioned in conjunction with Mesha's building of Aroer which lies close to the Arnon; see further Chapter VI.D.1 below. Marsh suggests that ba'^{a}lê bāmôt is a reference to the leaders of Bamoth ("Numbers," p. 246).

III.B. Deut. 32:13a and Isa. 58:14aβ-bα

The "Song of Moses" (Deut. 32) is widely accepted as a pre-exilic composition,[1] but opinions differ greatly as to a more exact date. Albright, among others, dates the poem as early as the 11th century, roughly the time of Samuel.[2] According to Frank M. Cross, it cannot be earlier than the 9th century.[1] G. Ernest Wright places it in the reign of Jehoahaz of Israel (specifically c. 815-805), but allows that anywhere between 900 and 600 could be considered.[2] J. R. Boston assigns it to the reign of Hezekiah,[3] while E. Baumann suggests that of Manasseh.[4] Jack R. Lundbom identifies it as the scroll found in the Temple during the reign of Josiah.[5]

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[1] Among recent critics favoring an exilic date, see, e.g., Junker, *Das Buch Deuteronomium*, HSAT, Vol. II, pt. 2 (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1933), p. 122; W. O. E. Oesterley, *Ancient Hebrew Poems* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938), p. 24; R. Tournay, review of O. Eissfeldt, *Das Lied Moses Deuteronomium 32:1-43 und das Lehrgedicht Asaphs Psalm 78 samt emer Analyse der Umgebung des Mose-Liedes*, in *RB*, LXVII (1960), 122; G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary*, trans. by D. Barton, OTL (London: SCM, 1966), p. 200; A Phillips, *Deuteronomy*, Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), p. 210.

[2] W. F. Albright, "Some Remarks on the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy XXXII," *VT*, IX (1959), 339-346; *idem*, *Archaeology, Historical Analogy and Early Biblical Tradition*, p. 61. Cf. also, e.g., U. Cassuto, "The Song of Moses (Deuteronomy Chapter XXXII 1-43)," *Biblical and Oriental Studies*, trans by I Abrahams, I (Jerusalem: Magnus Press, 1975 [first published in 1938]), 41; P. W. Skehan, "The Structure of the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy (32:1-43)," *Studies in Israelite Poetry and Wisdom*, CBQ Monographs, I (Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1967), 67-77 (= *CBQ*, XIII [1951], 153-163); O. Eissfeldt, *Das Lied Moses Deuteronomium 32:1-43 und das Lehrgedichte Asaphs Psalm 78 samt einer Analyse der Umgebung des Moses-Liede*, Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Vol. CIV, No. 5 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1958); *idem*, *Introduction*, pp. 226f.; D. A. Robertson, *Linguistic Evidence in Dating Early Hebrew Poetry*, Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series, III (Missoula, Mont.: Society of Biblical Literature, 1972), especially 155.

The "secular" BMH occurs in vs. 13a: yarkibēhû 'al bom^{o}tê[6] 'āreṣ wayyō'kal t^{e}nûbōt šādāy. Very reminiscent of and probably dependent upon this passage is Isa. 58:14aβ-bα:[1] *w^{e}hirkabtîkā 'al bom^{o}tê*[2] *'āreṣ, w^{e}ha'^{a}kaltîkā*[3] *naḥ^{a}lat ya'^{a}qōb 'ābîkā*. On the basis of Isa. 58:14 many commentators prefer to read a Hiphil form of 'KL in Deut. 32:13 in place of the MT's Qal.[4] Although the Versional support for the change may be secondary harmonization, *ya'^{a}kîlēhû* does seem stylistically superior to *yō'kal*.[5]

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[1] F. M. Cross, Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), p. 264 note 193.

[2] G. E. Wright, "The Lawsuit of God: A Form-Critical Study of Deuteronomy 32," Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg, ed. by B. W. Anderson and W. Harrelson (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962), pp. 66f.; cf. idem, "The Book of Deuteronomy: Introduction and Exegesis," Interpreter's Bible, ed. by G. A. Buttrick et al., II (New York: Abingdon Press, 1953), 517.

[3] J. R. Boston, "The Song of Moses," Dissertation Abstracts, XXVIII (1967-1968), 284; cf. idem, "The Wisdom Influence upon the Song of Moses," JBL, LXXXVII (1968), 198-202.

[4] E. Baumann, "Das Lied Mose's (Dt. XXXII 1-43) auf seine gedankliche Geschlossen intersucht," VT, VI (1956), 422.

[5] J. R. Lundbom, "The Lawbook of the Josianic Reform," CBQ, XXXVIII (1976), 293-302. Cf. W. L. Holladay, "Jeremiah and Moses: Further Observations," JBL, LXXXV (1966), 19, 26.

[6] Qere.

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[1] Cf. Duhm, *Jesaja*, p. 410; J. Skinner, *The Book of the Prophet Isaiah: Chapters XL-LXVI*, 2d ed., Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges, XXIV, pt. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929), 186; C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66: A Commentary*, trans. by D. M. G. Stalker, OTL (London: SCM, 1969), p. 342. On the composition of the pericope, see H. Kosmala, "Form and Structure of Isaiah 58," *ASTI*, V (1966-1967), especially 79f.

[2] *Qere*.

[3] 1QIsa^{a} and the Versions read *w^{e}he'^{e}kîlkā*.

[4] So, e.g., A. Dillmann, *Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronium, und Josua*, 2d ed., KEHAT, III (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1886), 400; A. Bertholet, *Deuteronomium*, KHCAT, V (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1899), 97; H. W. Robinson, *Deuteronomy and Joshua*, New-Century Bible, IV (New York: Henry Frowde, [1907]), 223; Oesterley, *Ancient Hebrew Poems*, p. 30; Wright, "Lawsuit of God," p. 29. Cf. the reservations of S. R. Driver, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy*, ICC, V (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895), 359.

[5] Note the resulting causative triad: *yarkibēhû* : *ya'^{a}kîlēhû* : *yēniqēhû*. The change would not affect the meaning of the BMH clause, however.

III.C. Deut. 33:29

According to Cross and D. N. Freedman, the "Blessing of Moses" (Deut. 33) was probably composed in the 11th century and first written down in the 10th century.[1] This view has found general acceptance,[2] although an 8th-century date has also been advocated.[3] The poem consists of a series of sayings concerning the individual tribes (vss. 6-25) bracketed by a hymn (vss. 2-5, 26-29).[4] The hymn recalls Judg. 5, 2 Sam. 22 (= Ps. 18), Hab. 3, and Ps. 68.

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[1] F. M. Cross, Jr., and D. N. Freedman, Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry, Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series, XXI (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1975), 97 (= JBL, LXVII [1948], 192). Cf. earlier W. S. Pythian-Adams, "On the Date of the 'Blessing of Moses' (Deut. XXXIII)," JPOS, III (1923), 158-166; U. Cassuto, "Deuteronomy Chapter XXXIII and the New Year in Ancient Israel," Biblical and Oriental Studies, trans. by I. Abrahams, I (Jerusalem: Magnus Press, 1975 [first published in 1928]), 70.

[2] Cf., e.g., Wright, "Deuteronomy," p. 527; Albright, "Some Remarks on the Song of Moses," p. 346 note 3; G. H. Davies, "Deuteronomy," Peake's Commentary on the Bible, ed. by M. Black and H. H. Rowley (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1962), p. 283; I. L. Seeligmann, "A Psalm from Pre-Regnal Times," VT, XIV (1964), 90; Phillips, Deuteronomy, p. 210.

[3] Cf. Driver, Deuteronomy, pp. 387f.; A. Bentzen, Introduction to the Old Testament, 2d ed. (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad, 1952), II, 58; R. Tournay, "Le Psaume et les Bénédictions de Moïse (Deuteronome XXXIII)," RB, LXV (1958), 181-213; von Rad, Deuteronomy, p. 208.

[4] Cf. Eissfeldt, Introduction, pp. 227ff.

III.D. *1 Sam. 9:1-10:16*

1 Sam. 9:1-10:16 tells the picturesque story of how the young man Saul set out in search of his father's lost asses and found a kingdom. The word BMH as a "cultic" designation occurs seven times in this story in reference to two different installations: one at an unnamed city in "the land of Zuph" where Saul meets Samuel (9:12, 13, 14, 19, 25), and one at Gibeath-Elohim/Gibeah where Saul meets a band of prophets and engages in prophetic activity (10:5; vs. 13 is text-critically problematic [see below]).

The pericope is widely regarded as part of an early pro-monarchic source and to be relatively free of later interpolations and editorial remarks.[1] A number of tensions and inconsistencies in the present narrative suggest, however, that it is not a homogeneous composition.[2] According to Hans W. Hertzberg, two originally independent parallel versions of the story have been woven together, but it is impossible to disentangle them in matters of detail.[1] Other commentators see a single literary core which has undergone considerable expansion and revision. Bruce C. Birch finds this core to be an old folk-tale in which the young Saul unwittingly encountered Samuel, ate with him as an honored guest, and was assured through the prophet's clairvoyance that the lost asses would be found and his depleted food supplies replenished.[2] For Ludwig Schmidt and J. Maxwell Miller, this folk-tale concerned a meeting between Saul and an anonymous "seer" who fed him and foretold the resolution of his two problems, but also instructed him to overthrow the Philistine garrison at Gibeath-Elohim (10:5a, 7).[3] All three agree that this story was subsequently remodelled

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[1] Thus H. P. Smith, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Samuel*, ICC, IX (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899): "a continuous and, for the most part, homogeneous, narrative" (p. xviii); "the earliest and most reliable of the sources" (p. 59). Cf. also, e.g., G. B. Caird, "The First and Second Books of Samuel: Introduction and Exegesis," *Interpreter's Bible*, ed. by G. A. Buttrick *et al*., II (New York: Abingdon Press, 1953), 856f.; Eissfeldt, *Introduction*, p. 275.

[2] Cf. H. I. Stoebe, "Noch einmal die Eselinnen des *kîš* (1 Sam. IX)," *VT*, VII (1957), 362-370; H. W. Hertzberg, *I-II Samuel: A Commentary*, trans. by J. S. Bowden, OTL (London: SCM, 1964), pp. 78f. *et passim*; H. Seebass, "Die Vorgeschichte der Königserhebung

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Sauls," ZAW, LXXIX (1967), 158f.; B. C. Birch, The Rise of the Israelite Monarchy: The Growth and Development of 1 Samuel 7-15, Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series, XXVII (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1976), 30f. (= JBL, XC [1971], 56f.).

[1] Hertzberg, I-II Samuel, pp. 79, 132. Cf. also A. L. Merrill, "I Samuel 1-12: A Traditio-Historical Study" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1962), pp. 145-167; Seebass, "Vorgeschichte," pp. 155-171.

[2] Birch, Rise of the Israelite Monarchy, pp. 29-42 (= JBL, XC [1971], 55-68).

[3] L. Schmidt, Menschlicher Erfolg und Jahwes Initiative: Studien zu Tradition, Interpretation und Historie in Überlieferungen

into its present form as an account of Saul's anointment by Samuel.

Two of the inconsistencies in 1 Sam. 9 involve BMH. In vs. 19a Samuel tells Saul to precede him up to the bamah, while in vs. 22a Samuel escorts Saul and his servant into the place (*liškâ*) where the meal is to be eaten. The discrepancy exists only if the bamah and the lishkah were identical, and if *'^{a}lēh l^{e}pāny* in vs. 19a implies a passage of time between the arrival of the two men. Neither need be the case; the lishkah may have been part of a larger sanctuary-complex (the bamah) to which Saul was brought by his host who walked deferentially a few steps behind him.[1]

The second inconsistency is more serious. According to vs. 14, *wayya'^{a}lû hā'îr, hēmmâ bā'îm b^{e}tôk hā'îr w^{e}hinnēh s^{e}mû'ēl*

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von Gideon, Saul und David, WMANT, XXXVIII (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins, 1970), 58-102; J. M. Miller, "Saul's Rise to Power: Some Observations concerning 1 Sam. 9:1-10:16; 10:26-11:15 and 13:2-14:46," *CBQ*, XXXVI (1974), especially 157-161. For the inclusion of 10:5a in the original folk-tale version, see Miller, "Saul's Rise to Power," p. 159.

[1] Cf. Birch, *Rise of the Israelite Monarchy*, p. 34 (= *JBL*, XC [1971], 60). This is an exegetical problem, and will be examined further in Chapter VI.A.1 below.

yōṣē’ liqrā’tām la'^{a}lôt habbāmâ, "and [Saul and his servant] went up (to) the city; they (were) entering into the midst of the city and, behold, Samuel (was) coming out to meet them (in order) to go up (to) the bamah." This conflicts with vs. 18a: *wayyiggaš šā’ûl ’et-š^{e}mû’ēl b^{e}tôk haššā'ar*; "and Saul came near to Samuel in the midst of the gate." In the first Saul has already come into the city when Samuel appears,[1] while in the second he has only reached the city-gate. To reconcile the two it might be thought that the gate of vs. 18a is not the same gate through which Saul would have passed when entering the city in vs. 14;[2] most commentators prefer to emend the text of vs. 14 to read *b^{e}tôk haššā'ar* as in vs. 18a,[3] but the change is nothing more than an arbitrary harmonization.[1] It is more satisfactory to resolve the problem by assigning these two passages to different compositional strata within the present narrative.[2] Vs. 18a seems to be anticipated by vs. 12 which places Samuel some distance ahead of Saul on the same road to the city. Vs. 13 predicts that Saul will meet Samuel inside the city, as he does in vs. 14, without the suggestion that Samuel has only just arrived. If the "seer" of the old folk-tale was a resident of the city (cf. vs. 6), vss. 13-14 may be assigned to that stratum of the material. The itinerate Samuel of vss. 12 and 18a reappears in 10:8 (cf. also 7:16 and

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[1] The BW’ + B + *tôk* construction leaves no doubt that the destination *hā'îr* was actually "entered"; cf. Austel, "Prepositional and Non-Prepositional Complements," pp. 87f.

[2] It would be even more contrived to assume that Saul entered the city, and then turned around and returned to meet Samuel at the gate. P. A. H. de Boer's view that *ša'ar* "means 'gate,' 'gateway,' where the city life (judgments, etc.) takes place; in this way 'city' also" (*Research into the Text of I Samuel I-XVI* [Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1938], p. 84) is sociologically correct, but lexically unconvincing. Cf. also Smith, *Samuel*, p. 64.

[3] So, e.g., Wellhausen, *Text der Bücher Samuelis*, p. 72; K. Budde, *The Books of Samuel: Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text*, trans. by B. W. Bacon, SBOT, VIII (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1894), 58; Smith, *Samuel*, p. 64; W. Nowack, *Richter, Ruth und Bücher Samuelis*, HKAT, VII-X (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902), 42; A. R. S. Kennedy, *Samuel*, New-Century Bible,

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VI (New York: Henry Frowde, [1905]), 80; P. Dhorme, Les Livres de Samuel, Etudes Biblique (Paris: Victor Lecoffre, 1910), p. 78; Driver, Notes, p. 73; W. O. E. Oesterley, The First Book of Samuel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913), p. 43; F. Delitzsch, Die Lese- und Schreibfehler im Alten Testament (Berlin: Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger, 1920), p. 99; R. Kittel, "Das erste Buch Samuel," Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments, 4th ed., ed. by E. Kautzsch and A. Bertholet, I (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1922), 421; K. A. Leimbach, Die Bücher Samuel, HSAT, III, pt. 1 (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1936), 46; R. de Vaux, Les Livres de Samuel, 2d ed., La Sainte Bible (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1961), p. 54; Hertzberg, I-II Samuel, p. 76.

[1] The LXX harmonizes in the other direction, reading "city" in vs. 18a. The Targum and Vulgate agree with the MT. The Peshitta (which only approximates the emendation) is interpretive.

[2] Cf. Schmidt, Menschlicher Erfolg und Jahwes Initiative, pp. 72f.

13:8ff.) which Birch, Schmidt, and Miller regard as part of the secondary expansion.[1]

The third inconsistency which concerns us is the fact that Samuel gives Saul three "signs" as proof that he is Yahweh's anointed-one (10:1-6), but only the fulfillment of the third is recorded (vss. 10-13). Hertzberg claims that something has accidentally dropped out of the text,[2] but it is more likely that the omission was deliberate[3] and occurred when the story of Saul's lost asses was transformed into the story of his anointment. The third "sign" is that Saul will meet a band of prophets and prophesy with them (vss. 5b-6). To "be a prophet" (NB') is to be seized by the god and thereby literally "turned into another man" (10:6);[1] when this seizure is accompanied by ecstatic behavior, as here, the change is readily apparent. Ideologically, being anointed by a god (through human mediation) produces this same charismatic transformation.[2] The "sign" of Saul's prophesying is thus very much to the point of the anointment revision, for it demonstrates metaphorically that the anointing was effective,[3] i.e., that Saul had become the legitimate, divinely chosen ruler (10:1b [LXX]).[4] The other two "signs"--that the asses had been found (vs. 2) and that three strangers would give him bread (vss. 3-4)--do not really address this question at all. In the original folktale the fulfillment of these "signs" would have served to authenticate the unexpected instructions to do battle with the Philistines at Gibeath-Elohim (vss. 5a, 7), and to bolster the young Saul's courage in carrying them out.[1] The revised version of the story has no interest in this battle, in the foodstuffs, or in the asses. The reviser incorporated the giving of the first two "signs" to set the scene for the giving of the *real* "sign" and its fulfillment (vs. 10); their fulfillment was no longer of any consequence, and would have unnecessarily interrupted the flow of his story,[2] and thus was not elaborated.[3]

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[1] Miller attributes it to the anointment revisor as a link to the next episode in his historical reconstruction: "Samuel anoints Saul and instructs him to proceed to Gilgal and wait (9:1-10:9); Saul proceeds to Gilgal but begins the pre-battle cultic ceremonies on his own when Samuel does not appear at the appointed time; when Samuel finally arrives and sees what Saul has done, he issues the pronouncement that the kingdom for which Saul has been anointed will not be a permanent one, and that the Lord has already sought out another man after his own heart (13:4ff.). Later, after Saul has defeated both the Philistines and the Ammonites, Samuel does in fact officiate at his coronation (10:26-11:15) but secretly anoints David in his stead" ("Saul's Rise to Power," pp. 171f.).

[2] Hertzberg, I-II Samuel, pp. 78 note a, 86 note a.

[3] M. Tsevat suggests that the fulfillment of only the third "sign" was described to give it special emphasis ("Studies in the Book of Samuel: II," HUCA, XXXIII [1962], 116).

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[1] See recently G. W. Ahlström, "Prophecy," Encyclopedia Britannica, 15th ed., XV (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1974), 62.

[2] Cf. G. W. Ahlström, "Solomon, the Chosen One," HR, VIII (1968), 93-110.

[3] It is "symbolic of the spirit of God and its significance for kingship" (Tsevat, "Studies in Samuel: II," p. 116).

[4] The longer LXX version of 10:1 has Samuel say that "this will be the sign to you that the Lord has anointed you." The authenticity of this version is generally conceded (so, e.g., Wellhausen, Smith, Kennedy, Dhorme, Driver, Leimbach, de Vaux, Hertzberg); but cf. Schmidt, Menschlicher Erfolg und Jahwes Initiative, pp. 85f. note 3.

At some point in the development of the pericope this third "sign" became the vehicle for an aetiological explanation of the proverb "Is Saul also among the prophets?" (10:11-12; cf. 19:18-24).[1] It is unclear whether these verses were part of the anointment revision of the folk-tale or were appended secondarily. If vs. 6 belongs to the anointment revision as we have suggested, vss. 11-12 (which presuppose vs. 6) would bring the episode to a fitting climax by connecting the "sign" of Saul's status as Yahweh's anointed-one to a well-known proverbial saying.[1]

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[1] Note the pl. *’ôtôt* in vs. 7 (which contains the military instructions) and vs. 9b (which says that "all these signs" were fulfilled *before Saul met the prophets*! [see note 3 below]). Both of these "signs" can be linked to unambiguously folk-tale material (vs. 2 to 9:5, and vss. 3-4 to 9:7).

[2] To divert attention away from the lost asses the revisor added 9:20a, telling Saul (and the reader) that the animals had been found even before the first "sign" is given.

[3] Perhaps vs. 9b was the only account of their fulfillment in the original folk-tale, which then moved on to an account of the battle (now lost, but presupposed by 13:4 [cf. Miller, "Saul's Rise to Power," pp. 162ff., 167, 171]). If this is the case, the revisor simply inserted his third "sign" and its fulfillment account sequentially into the older narrative source and omitted nothing.

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[1] It cannot be assumed that this incident of Saul and the prophets reflects historical reality. The point of the story, as suggested above, is not that Saul actually was a prophet, but that he was the authentic anointed-one. This story (and 19:18-24) excepted, there is absolutely nothing in the Saul material to indicate that he was a prophet or associated with prophets; if anything, the biblical record points to the contrary (cf. 28:3, 6, 7f.). Just what the proverb means, independent from its present context, is uncertain; cf. V. Eppstein, "'Was Saul also among the Prophets?'," *ZAW*, LXXXI (1969), 287-303, and J. Sturdy, "The Original Meaning of 'Is Saul also among the Prophets?' (1 Samuel X 11, 12; XIX 24)," *VT*, XX (1970), 206-213. For Eppstein, the proverb would have asked whether Saul was a charismatic leader (*šōpeṭ*) like Samuel or an institutional monarch (*melek*) like David; Sturdy supposes that it was meant to criticize Saul for not being able to foresee the future. Neither interpretation is convincing. Eppstein exaggerates the difference between charismatic and institutional leadership, and Sturdy's assumption that kings were expected to be clairvoyants is unmerited. Sturdy's argument that the proverbial question expected a negative answer is persuasive, however, and indicates that Saul is here being compared unfavorably to the prophets. If the historical Saul was *not* a prophet, what is the basis of the comparison? It is significant that both stories explain the proverb in terms of Saul's peculiar *behavior* while prophesying. Biblical tradition recognizes that Saul did behave abnormally later in his reign. Could not the proverb be asking: Why is king Saul acting so strangely; is he a prophet (in whom such unsettling behavior might be condoned) or a madman (and thus unsuited to continue as king)?

This brings us to 10:13: *wayᵉkal mēhitnabbôt wayyābōʼ habbāmâ*. The first two words are a continuation of the preceding section, while the last two mark a transition to the next (vss. 14-16). The transition is marred by serious text-critical problems. Three possibilities must be considered:

1. Josephus' retelling of the story suggests a Hebrew text which has Saul "enter the house" when he finished prophesying.[2] Similarly, many commentators would change *habbāmâ* to *habbāyᵉtâ*, arguing that the ensuing conversation between Saul and his "uncle" was a private affair which would not have occurred at the same public place where Saul's prophesying had

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[1] Note that 16:14f. attributes Saul's later abnormal behavior to an "evil spirit" dispossessing the benign "spirit of Yahweh." This is the occasion for bringing the newly anointed David (vss. 1-13) into Saul's court. In Miller's reconstruction (see p. 100 note 1 above) Saul's anointment in chs. 9-10 and David's anointment in ch. 16 are part of the same literary unit. If the departure of the "spirit of Yahweh" from Saul in 16:14 is the counterpart of its arrival upon David in 16:13, it also looks back to 10:6, 10b. Saul's prophetic madness in 10:5b-6, 10-12, foreshadows his behavior in 16:14ff. both in the explanation given for it and in its connection with Saul's status as Yahweh's anointed-one.

[2] Ant. 6:58: *hos d'ēlthen eis tēn oikian*.

aroused comment.[1] This option is the least satisfactory, for is assumes that the Gibeah where Saul did his prophesying (vs. 10) was his hometown. Although he lived there as king, Gibeah is never identified as Saul's pre-regnal home in the biblical record. On the contrary, it would appear from 2 Sam. 21:14 that he was a native of the Benjaminite town Ṣela, very likely the same place where the first "sign" in the folk-tale was to be fulfilled (10:2).[2] That he was known to the people of Gibeah and his "uncle" was living there hardly warrants making Saul a permanent resident with a house of his own.[3] If the reference is to the house of the "uncle," it is hard to believe that the man's domicile would be mentioned before even the existence of the man himself had been noted in the narrative.

2. In the LXX's version of this passage Saul finished

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[1] So, e.g., Wellhausen, Budde, Smith, Nowack, Kennedy, Driver, Kittel, Leimbach, de Vaux. Cf. also G. R. Driver, "Once Again Abbreviations," Textus, IV (1964), 81.

[2] See especially Miller, "Saul's Rise to Power," pp. 159f. and note 9.

[3] If Gibeah was his hometown, it is surprising that Saul does not discuss his experience with Samuel and the asses--the only subject of the conversation in vss. 14-16--with his worried father instead of with this other seemingly irrelevant relation.

prophesying and erchetai eis ton bounon, "he came to the hill." This seems to point to a Hebrew text reading haggib'â for habbāmâ, and many commentators have emended the MT accordingly.[1] The word would be the place-name "Gibeah" as in vs. 10, rather than the common noun understood by the LXX.[2] If this reading is correct, the sequence of events would be as follows: Saul approaches the town (vs. 10a), meets the prophets and undergoes an ecstatic transformation before some of his old acquaintances (vss. 10b-12), returns to his former self (vs. 13a), enters the town (vs. 13b), and converses with his "uncle" at some unspecified location therein.

3. According to the MT's version, when Saul finished prophesying he "entered the bamah."[3] The textual integrity of this reading has been questioned largely because a bamah, as a hill or other topographically high place, cannot be "entered."[4]

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[1] So, e.g., Dhorme, Hertzberg, Schmidt, Miller. See also K. Budde, Die Bücher Samuel, KHCAT, VIII (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1902), 70. Cf. also p. 32 note 1 above.

[2] On the terminology, cf. J. M. Miller, "Geba/Gibeah of Benjamin," VT, XXV (1975), 145-166, and see below.

[3] See Chapter II.A above.

[4] Cf. Budde, Bücher Samuel, p. 70; Nowack, Samuelis, p. 47; Dhorme, Samuel, p. 87; Ehrlich, Randglossen, III, 203f.; Driver, Notes, p. 83.

Our syntactical survey of the "cultic" BMH has shown this argument to be completely without merit.[1] Moreover, the MT's reading has the support of the Targum (cf. also Vulg.).[2] If this is the correct reading, it would imply that Saul's prophesying took place in the vicinity of a bamah--as predicted in vs. 5b--and that his interview with his "uncle" was conducted within it.

Certainty is not possible in this matter, but the MT is probably to be preferred.[3] It is difficult to see how *haggib'â* might have been mistaken for the orthographically dissimilar *habbāmâ*. Hertzberg's suggestion that *habbāmâ* was meant to interpret *haggib'â* (i.e., "Gibeah") as "the hill"[4] does not take into account the semantic implications of the BW' + 0 construction[5] or the Aramaic rendering of the word as *bêt 'asḥārûtā'*,

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[1] See Chapter II above.

[2] There is no reason to assume with de Boer that the Targum read *hārāmâ* in vs. 13 (*Research*, p. 19).

[3] According to P. R. Ackroyd, there is "no good reason why [*habbāmâ*] may not be correct" (*The First Book of Samuel*, Cambridge Bible Commentary [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971], p. 86).

[4] Hertzberg, *I-II Samuel*, p. 78 note d.

[5] If the word is inauthentic because of the impossibility of "entering" a "hill," are we to accept such syntactical sloppiness from a hypothetical annotator?

"the banqueting-hall." Josephus' paraphrase also attests to an architectural and not a topographical reference here.[1] But if *habbāmâ* is authentic, how is the LXX's *ton bounon* to be explained? The answer may lie in Hertzberg's observation that one word may be an interpretation of the other.

It is evident that for the Greek translator of 1 Sam. 9-10 the meaning of BMH had to be inferred from its context, for in 9:12, 13, 14, 19, 25, and 10:5 he simply transliterated it. It was noted in Chapter I that the neologism may have been understood as the name of a specific locale associated with the unnamed city of ch. 9 which was reserved for cultic performances; thus 9:25: *kai katebē ek tēs bama eis tēn polin*; "and he went down from the 'bama' to the city" (= MT *wayyer*^{e}*dû mēhabbāmâ hā'îr*). In 10:5b the relationship between city and bamah is the same: *kai estai hōs an eiselthēte ekei eis tēn polin, kai apantēseis chorō prophētōn katabainontōn ek tēs bama*; "and it will come to pass when you have entered the city that you will meet a band of prophets coming down from the 'bama'" (= MT *wîhî k*^{e}*bō'*^{a}*kā šām hā'îr upāga'tā ḫebel n*^{e}*bî'îm yōr*^{e}*dîm mēhabbāmâ*). Vs. 5a in MT identifies this city as *gib'at hā'*^{e}*lōhîm*, i.e.,

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[1] Furthermore, it is not difficult to see how *hbmh* could have been misread *hbyth*.

"Gibeath-Elohim."[1] In the LXX, however, this phrase has been understood as a reference to a topographical landmark--"the hill of the god" (*hos bounos tou theou*)--associated with the city. The MT of vs. 5 contains only two locations: the city Gibeath-Elohim, and the bamah whence the prophets descend. The LXX of vs. 5 seems to contain three locations: the hill, the city, and the bamah.

When Saul finally does meet the prophets in vs. 10 it occurs at *haggib'â*; there is no mention of either the city or the bamah anticipated in vs. 5b. If *haggib'â* is "Gibeah," this would be the city of vs. 5b with which the bamah would be associated. This seems to be the intent of the MT.[2] The Greek translator, however, assumed that *haggib'â* in vs. 10 was "the hill" (*hos bounos*) near the city, as in vs. 5b. Since, according to vs. 5b, Saul is supposed to meet the prophets as they "come down from the bamah [to the city]," his interpretation of *haggib'â* in vs. 10 implies that he had equated the *bama* of vs. 5b with the *bounos tou theou* of vs. 5a. In other words, he thought of only two locations: the city, and a sacred precinct of some sort on a nearby hill (which was thus *tou theou*).[1] *Bounos* defined for him what *habbāmâ* meant, and when he found this word in vs. 13 he translated it accordingly, on the basis of what he had inferred from vss. 5 and 10.[2] In fact, his renderings of vss. 10aα and 13b are identical: *kai erchetai . . . eis ton bounon*. If *haggib'â* was in his *Vorlage* of vs. 13b, his translations have Saul "come to the [same] hill" both before and after his encounter with the prophets, which makes no sense.[3] But if *ton bounon* encompasses two different Hebrew words in these passages, at least the translator could have made sense of his renderings by nuancing them differently; in vs. 10aα Saul "comes to the hill [where the sanctuary was located]" (*ton*

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[1] As indicated by the BW' + ∅ construction (*tabō' gib'at hā'ᵉlōhîm*).

[2] See the discussion of this passage in Chapter VI.A.2 below.

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[1] Modern commentators have followed this same line of reasoning. Thus, e.g., Miller remarks that vs. 5 *in situ* "clearly suggests a high place [sanctuary] on a hill which overlooked a village" ("Saul's Rise to Power," p. 164). See further Chapter VI.A.2 below.

[2] Nothing in ch. 9 could have suggested this interpretation. The only indication that this bamah may not have been inside the city is vs. 18a which the Greek translator has harmonized with vs. 14 (see p. 99 note 1 above). See further Chapter VI.A.1 below.

[3] To simply take the LXX's reading as evidence for *haggib'â* because it makes sense for Saul to conclude his journey in "Gibeah" ignores the fact that the Greek translator did not understand the passage in this way.

bounon = *haggib'â*), while in vs. 13b he "comes to the [sanctuary which was on the] hill" (*ton bounon* = *habbāmâ*).

III.E. 2 Sam. 1:19, 25

There is no reason to question the antiquity of "David's Lament" (2 Sam. 1:19-27). It probably dates from the 11th-10th centuries,[1] and the traditional claim of Davidic authorship is not impossible.[2]

The "secular" BMH occurs twice in this poem: *haṣṣ^{e}bî yiśrā'ēl 'al-bāmôtėkā ḥālāl, 'êk nāplû gibbôrîm* (vs. 19); *'êk nāplû gibbôrîm b^{e}tôk hammilḥāmâ, y^{e}hônātān 'al-bāmôtėkā ḥālāl* (vs. 25). These verses have been subjected to numerous fanciful rewritings. A popular alternative to the MT version of vs. 19a reads *hē'āṣ^{e}bî yisrā'ēl 'al-bāmôtayik ḥālāl*, "grieve, O Israel, (because) upon your heights (lie the) slain."[3] Albright suggests *haṣṣîb yiśrā'ēl 'al-ḥ^{a}lālėkā bāmôt*, "set up, O Israel, bamoth over thy dead."[1] James Kennedy's corrections are even more extreme: *hinnāṣēb yisrā'ēl 'al-bāmôtėkā, hêlēl 'al-mētėkā*; "stand, O Israel, upon thy bamoth; wail over thy dead."[2] Vs. 25b has been transformed into *yᵉhônātān 'al-bāmôt bᵉtôk ḥᵃlālîm*, "Jonathan on (the) bamoth amongst (the) slain," by Hertzberg;[3] other proposals include *yᵉhônātān libbî bᵉmôtᵉkā ḥālāl*, "Jonathan, my heart by thy death is pierced through,"[4] and *yᵉhônātān nig'al bᵉmôtô kᵉḥālāl*, "Jonathan was cast aside when he died as unclean."[5] Such unsupported emendational speculations hardly merit serious consideration. The text of vs. 25 is secure; vs. 19 is admittedly difficult, and perhaps slightly corrupt, but it does yield satisfactory sense without drastic textual mutation.[1]

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[1] See recently D. N. Freedman, "The Refrain in David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan," *Ex Orbe Religionum: Studia Geo Widengren*, Supplementa ad Numen, XXI (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), 118; Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, p. 122.

[2] Cf., e.g., Hertzberg, *I-II Samuel*, p. 238.

[3] See, e.g., Budde, *Samuel*, p. 75 (cf. *idem*, *Bücher Samuel*, pp. 197f.); Smith, *Samuel*, p. 261 ("the feminine form being chosen because Israel is the mother of the fallen heroes"); Kennedy, *Samuel*, p. 195; Caird, "Samuel," p. 1046.

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[1] Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, p. 204 note 115, translating *bāmôt* as "burial cairns" consistent with his view that bamoth were mounds essentially funerary in nature. He is not overly confident about his treatment of the verse, however conceding that "this at least makes complete sense."

[2] J. Kennedy, "David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan: II Sam. 1:19-27," *AJSL*, XXXII (1916), 118f. Cf. Wellhausen, *Text der Bücher Samuelis*, pp. 151f.; Nowack, *Samuelis*, p. 152.

[3] Hertzberg, *I-II Samuel*, p. 236 and note c.

[4] Cf. Budde, *Samuel*, p. 76 (also *idem*, *Bücher Samuel*, p. 200); Kennedy, *Samuel*, p. 197; Nowack, *Samuelis*, p. 154; Dhorme, *Samuel*, p. 274. Smith finds the verse corrupt, but offers no alternative (*Samuel*, pp. 263f.).

[5] Kennedy, "David's Lament," p. 123.

III.F. 2 Sam. 22:34 (= Ps. 18:34)

There is general agreement among commentators that the poem in its original form is a very early composition, dating from the 10th century or perhaps even slightly earlier.[2] The two recensions, apparently representing separate northern and southern dialectal traditions,[3] attest to its currency during the monarchic period and suggest a generative _Sitz im Leben_ in the Temple-cult under Solomon. Certain phrases are echoed in later biblical material; chief among these is Hab. 3:19 which corresponds with some alteration to vs. 34 (see Part U below).[4]

III.G. 1-2 Kings

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[1] This is primarily an exegetical problem and will be examined further in Chapter V.F below.

[2] For a survey of opinions, see H.-J. Kraus, _Psalmen_, BKAT, XV (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag der Buchhandlung des Erziehungsvereins, 1960), 141f. Cf. now Robertson, _Linguistic Evidence_, especially p. 155.

[3] Cf. Cross and Freedman, _Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry_, pp. 125ff. (= _JBL_, LXXII [1953], 16ff.).

[4] Cf. also vs. 46 with Micah 7:17 and vs. 31 with Prov. 30:5.

There is abiding scholarly agreement that 1-2 Kings, as a compositional unity, reflects the events and ideals of the Josianic reform. The connection is most often made directly; i.e., it is widely believed that the first edition of the work was executed during the reign of Josiah, and was later revised at some point after the fall of Jerusalem.[1] Alternatively, Martin Noth argues for a single exilic composition recounting the history of the defunct nation from this same perspective.[2] Both views take for granted that the basic principles underlying the reform and informing the composition of 1-2 Kings are expressed in Deuteronomy.[3] It is customary, therefore, to speak of Josiah's "deuteronomistic reform," and of a "deuteronomistic history-work" with a _terminus a quo_ of c. 620.

The cornerstone of this "deuteronomistic" hypothesis is the assumption that the order in Deut. 12 to destroy the cult places "upon the high mountains and upon the hills and under every green tree" (vs. 2) and to worship only at "the place which Yahweh will choose" (vs. 5) coincides with Josiah's actions as recorded in 2 Kgs. 23. It follows from this assumption that a prime objective of the Josianic reform would have been the centralization of worship in the Temple at Jerusalem and the concomitant elimination of all other cult places in the country. For the "deuteronomistic historian(s)" these actions would have represented the ideal expected of a pious king, a standard against which Josiah's predecessors could be judged and historical events evaluated[1]--and a secure objective criterion for latter-day compositional analyses of the material.

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[1] Cf. recently, e.g., Bentzen, _Introduction_, II, 96ff.; N. H. Snaith, "I-II Kings: Introduction and Exegesis," _Interpreter's Bible_, ed. by G. A. Buttrick _et al_., III (New York: Abingdon Press, 1954), 10ff.; Weiser, _Introduction_, pp. 171ff., 179ff.; Gray, _I-II Kings_, pp. 6ff.; J. Robinson, _The First Book of Kings_, Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 13f.; Cross, _Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic_, pp. 274-289.

[2] M. Noth, _Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien_, 2d ed. (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1957), pp. 3-110.

[3] See the discussion by E. W. Nicholson, _Deuteronomy and Tradition_ (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), chs. 1 and 6.

For purposes of the present study, this crucial assumption in the prevailing understanding of the compositional history of 1-2 Kings--and of the Josianic reform--cannot be made. The only non-Jerusalem cult places mentioned in 2 Kgs. 23 are called "bamoth" (vss. 5, 8, 9, 13, 15, 19, 20). The "deuteronomistic" hypothesis is possible if--*and only if*!--these bamoth (specifically those mentioned in vss. 8f.) are equated with the cult "places" (*hamm^{e}qōmôt*) proscribed in Deut. 12:2ff. Acceptance of the consensus view, therefore, requires that the "deuteronomistic" meaning of BMH be defined, *ex hypothesi*, on the basis of a passage in which the word does *not* occur. In a study of the word BMH in the Old Testament such a definition may be considered only after the texts containing the word have been examined in their own right; to impose it upon any of those texts *a priori* is methodologically wrong. Similarly, the events of Josiah's reform can be ascertained, in the first instance, only from the report given in 2 Kgs. 23 (and 2 Chron. 34) and a few other passages which explicitly refer to this subject. To view this primary evidence through a preconceived deuteronomic lens to see a "deuteronomistic" reform and the editorial hallmarks of a "deuteronomistic" history-work is to argue in a circle and should convince no one.[1]

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[1] Typically: "We know that through Deuteronomy the question of the pure Jahweh cult in Jerusalem, as against all the Canaanite cults of the high places, became articulus stantis et cadentis ecclesiae. It is by this criterion, which had become absolutely obligatory for his own time, that the Deuteronomist now measures the past" (G. von Rad, Studies in Deuteronomy, trans. by D. M. G. Stalker, SBT, IX [Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1953], 75).

A complete compositional analysis of 1-2 Kings obviously lies outside the scope of this study. We must attempt, nonetheless, to locate the 41 occurrences of BMH in 1-2 Kings within the compositional history of the corpus. On the basis of the style, vocabulary, and content of these passages, several discrete compositional clusters can be isolated from which some provisional conclusions may be drawn.

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[1] This is not to say that there is no connection between the book of Deuteronomy and 1-2 Kings. The question is, rather, at what point in the compositional history of both Deuteronomy and 1-2 Kings (and, coincidentally, of Jeremiah), and in the history of Israel, does this connection occur.

Evidence for the first of these clusters is found in the recurring criticism of the Judaean kings for not having "removed" (SWR) the bamoth. Typically: *wayya'aś hayyāšār b*^{e}*'êrê YHWH . . . raq habbāmôt lō'-sārû, 'ôd hā'ām m*^{e}*zabb*^{e}*ḥîm ûm*^{e}*qaṭṭ*^{e}*rîm babbāmôt* (2 Kgs. 14:3-4). As pointed out in a previous study,[1] this criticism, as a literary motif, encompasses the regnal accounts of Asa (1 Kgs. 15:14a), Jehoshaphat (1 Kgs. 22:44), Joash (2 Kgs. 12:3), Amaziah (2 Kgs. 14:4), Uzziah (2 Kgs. 15:4), and Jotham (2 Kgs. 15:35), culminating with Ahaz who is said to have patronized them himself (2 Kgs. 16:4a: *way*^{e}*zabbēaḥ way*^{e}*qaṭṭēr babbāmôt*), and climaxing with Hezekiah who finally did "remove" them (2 Kgs. 18:4aα: *hû' hēsîr 'et-habbāmôt*). It is characteristic of this cluster that (1) the desired fate of the bamoth is expressed by the verb SWR, (2) the worship conducted at the bamoth is expressed by the verbal couplet ZBḤ/QṬR (both in Piel), and (3) the practitioners of that worship are "the people" (*hā'ām*).[1] The compositional locus of this cluster--which comprises some of the most distinctively "deuteronomistic" editorial material--is clearly the reign of Hezekiah (cf. 2 Kgs. 18:22 [= Isa. 36:7]; 2 Chron. 32:11f.).[2]

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[1] W. B. Barrick, "On the 'Removal of the "High-Places"' in 1-2 Kings," *Biblica*, LV (1974), 257-259. Cf. also H. Weippert, "Die 'deuteronomistischen' Beurteilungen der Könige von Israel und Juda und das Problem der Redaktion der Königsbücher," *Biblica*, LIII (1972), 301-339.

Although very similar to these passages, neither 1 Kgs. 3:2a (*raq hā'ām m^{e}zabb^{e}ḥîm babbāmôt*) nor 3:3b (*raq babbāmôt hû' m^{e}zabbēaḥ ûmaqṭîr*) belongs to this cluster.[3] There is reason to believe, however, that 1 Kgs. 14:23 does:

> *wayyibnû gam-hēmmâ lāhem bāmôt ûmaṣṣēbôt wa'^{a}šērîm 'al kol-gib'â g^{e}bōhâ w^{e}taḥat kol-'ēṣ ra'^{a}nān*;
>
> and *they* built for themselves bamoth and maṣṣeboth and asherim upon every high hill and under every

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[1] 2 Kgs. 16:4a does not violate this scheme, for the fact that Ahaz himself worshipped at the bamoth magnifies the severity of the bamah problem and stylistically balances their "removal" by his successor.

[2] Note the use of SWR in these passages.

[3] Cf. Weippert, "Die 'deuteronomistischen' Beurteilungen," pp. 314f., who regards 3:2f. as "eine Nachahmung" of the passages in our cluster.

green tree.

This statement occurs in the introductory summary of Rehoboam's reign, and contradicts 1 Kgs. 3:2f. which presupposes that the bamoth are already in existence early in the reign of Solomon. No verbs of worship are employed, but the subject of BNH is "(the people of) Judah" (vs. 22);[1] "the people" who are criticized in the subsequent regnal introductions for patronizing the bamoth are here said to have been responsible for their construction. This statement provides an excellent inauguration for the entire judgmental motif which, 1 Kgs. 3:2f. having been excluded, would otherwise have begun abruptly with 1 Kgs. 15:14a.

The second cluster concerns the phrase "upon every high hill and under every green tree," and its several variants, used in three BMH passages (1 Kgs. 14:23; 2 Kgs. 16:4; 17:10). William L. Holladay has traced the origin of this literary cliché to Deut. 12:2b: *'al-hehārîm hārāmîm w^{e}'al-hagg^{e}bā'ôt w^{e}taḥat kol-'ēṣ ra'^{a}nān*.[2] He sees the version of the phrase in 2 Kgs. 16:4b (*'al-hagg^{e}bā'ôt w^{e}taḥat kol-'ēṣ ra'^{a}nān*) as a "simple elaboration" of

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[1] Note the pl. constructions in vs. 22b.

[2] W. L. Holladay, "'On Every High Hill and under Every Green Tree'," *VT*, XI (1961), 170-176.

Deut. 12:2b.[1] The version in 1 Kgs. 14:23 and 2 Kgs. 17:10, however, is borrowed from Jer. 2:20 which the prophet, in turn, had developed independently from Deut. 12:2b.[2] This judgment reflects the usual relegation of the Kings passages to late "deuteronomistic" editorializing subsequent to Jeremiah's prophecy, and the axiomatic bond between Deut. 12 and the Josianic reform; the phraseology in all three passages is identical (*'al kol-gib'â g^{e}bōhâ w^{e}-taḥat kol-'ēṣ ra'^{a}nān*), however, and if one does not make these assumptions it is impossible to tell which way the influence may have flowed. The preceding observations about 1 Kgs. 14:23 (and 2 Kgs. 16:4) suggest that Holladay's ordering might be reversed.[3] As we shall see in Chapter VI.C.2, the probable locus of Deut. 12 also supports this possibility.

According to Holladay, the phrase in Deut. 12:2b is "a prosaicized form of Hosea 4:13[a], and thus dependent on it":[4] *'al-ro'šê hehārîm y^{e}zabbēḥû w^{e}'al-hagg^{e}bā'ôt y^{e}qaṭṭērû taḥat 'allôn* w^{e}libneh w^{e}’ēlâ kî ṭôb ṣillāh; "upon the tops of the mountains they sacrifice and upon the hills they burn incense, under oak and poplar and terebinth because their shade (is) good." This passage is also linked to our first compositional cluster through the use of the ZBḤ/QṬR (in Piel) verbal couplet.

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 176.

[2] *Ibid*., pp. 173f.

[3] Holladay notes that "we are not always aware . . . of the extent to which a given phrase was a 'common idiom' of the time" (*ibid*., p. 176). It must be emphasized, however, that the Hezekian locus of our first cluster may be only a *terminus a quo*; see below.

[4] *Ibid*., p. 175.

Indications of a third cluster are found in 1 Kgs. 13:32:

> kî hāyōh yihyeh haddābār ’^{a}šer qārā’ bid^{e}bar YHWH 'al-hammizbēaḥ ’^{a}šer b^{e}bêt-’ēl, w^{e}'al kol-bāttê habbāmôt ’^{a}šer b^{e}'ārê šōmrôn;
>
> for the word which [the man-of-god from Judah] proclaimed by the word of Yahweh against the altar in Bethel, and against all bāttê-habbāmôt in the cities of Samaria will surely come to pass.

This passage refers back to vs. 2b which specifies that it is Josiah who will effectuate the prophecy, and foreshadows the account of Josiah's treatment of Bethel (2 Kgs. 23:15) and of "all bāttê-habbāmôt in the cities of Samaria" (vs. 19) where he "sacrificed all the bamoth-priests who (were) there upon the altars" (vs. 20a).[1] Characteristic of this cluster is (1) an interest in North Israel, specifically Bethel and "the cities of Samaria" (*'ārê-šōmrôn*), (2) the phrase *bāttê-habbāmôt*, and its variants, to designate the bamah installations, and (3) "priests" (*kōh^{a}nîm*) and "bamoth-priests" (*kōh^{a}nê-bāmôt*) as the practitioners of the cultic activity conducted at these installations. Accordingly, this cluster also comprehends 1 Kgs. 12:31, 32b, and 13:33b (dealing with the establishment of the cultic institutions of North Israel by Jeroboam I),[1] 2 Kgs. 17:29 and 32 (the perpetuation of those institutions by the peoples imported by Assyria),[2] and 2 Kgs. 23:8a and 9 (Josiah's treatment of the "priests"/"bamoth-

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[1] It is generally believed that 1 Kgs. 13:1-32 is an old prophetic legend which has been expanded and finally incorporated by the "deuteronomistic" compiler responsible for 2 Kgs. 23:16-20: cf.,

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e.g., Montgomery, *Kings*, p. 293; Snaith, "I-II Kings," pp. 120, 324; Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, p. 81; *idem*, *Könige*, BK, IX, pt. 1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins, 1968), 291ff.; Gray, *I-II Kings*, pp. 320ff., 715, 738; C. D. Evans, "Jeroboam as Paradigm: A Tradition Historical Study of the Deuteronomistic Presentation of Jeroboam ben Nebat" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1975), pp. 151ff.

[1] 1 Kgs. 12:25-32 and 13:33f., at least in their present form, are generally attributed to the "deuteronomistic" compiler: cf., e.g., Noth, *Könige*, pp. 268ff., 293, 304; Gray, *I-II Kings*, pp. 312, 332; Evans, "Jeroboam as Paradigm," pp. 99ff., 156.

[2] Vss. 29-32a are regarded as "deuteronomistic" by most commentators, although Gray attributes them to a separate Bethel source (*I-II Kings*, pp. 639f.). Vss. 7-17 constitute a "deuteronomistic homily" which seems to antedate this section; cf. especially J. MacDonald, "The Structure of II Kings XVII," *Glasgow University Oriental Society Transactions*, XXIII (1969-1970), 29-41. Note that, according to this view, vss. 9-11 would belong to an earlier stratum than vss. 29 and 32, supporting our relative dating of our second cluster.

priests" from "the cities of Judah"; cf. also vs. 5). The compositional locus of this cluster is obviously the reign of Josiah.

To this cluster undoubtedly belongs the note in 2 Kgs. 21:3a: wayyāšāb wayyiben ’et-habbāmôt ’^{a}šer ’ibbad hizkîyāhû ’ābîw; "and [Manasseh] rebuilt the bamoth which Hezekiah his father had destroyed." This passage is aware of the fact that Hezekiah pursued an anti-bamoth policy, but represents that policy by the verb ’BD rather than SWR, the term used in 2 Kgs. 18:4a and characteristic of the first cluster of passages. Compositionally, it is the connective necessary to bind the first and third cluster together into a continuous historical narrative.

It follows from this brief analysis of the BMH passages in 1-2 Kings[1] that future investigations of the compositional history of that work must contend with the probable existence of a distinctively "Hezekian" edition (as indicated by the first and probably the second of our clusters) in addition to a "Josianic" edition (indicated by our third cluster).[2] The fact that the

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[1] We are inclined to connect 1 Kgs. 3:2f. and the reference to the bamah at Gibeon (vs. 4) which these verses introduce with the third cluster.

[2] It is tempting to assume that these editions would have been created during these respective reigns. This judgment, while

"deuteronomistic" judgmental standard of bamoth "removal" appears to be compositionally unrelated to the "Josianic" stratum of the material requires a thorough reassessment of the "deuteronomistic" hypothesis itself, and of the literary and historical conclusions based upon it.[1] Our exegetical examination of these

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quite logical, may be premature. What the first and third of our clusters reveal is two separate strata of material in 1-2 Kings, one which regards Hezekiah's reform as the apex of Israel's theological history, the other Josiah's reform. We shall see in Chapter VI.C.2 below that these two reforms were somewhat different; Josiah seems to have pursued a more moderate policy toward the Judaean bamoth than did Hezekiah. It is not inconceivable, therefore, for a "deuteronomistic" faction to have revered Hezekiah in preference to Josiah even after the Josianic reform precisely because of the latter's failure to live up to their expectations.

[1] Evans criticizes Weippert--who reaches similar conclusions --for "a much too narrow understanding of redaction history. . . . one must look at the total compositional process, which includes collection and combination of traditions, as well as editorial or framework passages" ("Jeroboam as Paradigm," p. 188 note 1). This is quite true, of course. The problem is in establishing criteria by which the various "traditions" presented to us at the end of the composition process can be disentangled. Evans' dissection of 1 Kgs. 11:26-14:20 takes for granted the "deuteronomistic" hypothesis which allows him to identify and remove "deuteronomistic" redactional material without much ado to recover the "pre-deuteronomistic traditions" (p. 193 et passim). The issue raised by Weippert and in the preceding discussion is whether or not Evans premise is correct, on the basis of those passages commonly seen as typically "deuteronomistic" ex hypothesi. The sampling is admittedly small and narrowly based, but it would seem obvious that a compositional analysis of so enormous and variegated a work at 1-2 Kings (to say nothing of Deuteronomy-2 Kings) should proceed from analyses of smaller and more readily controllable corpora of texts within that work. The supremacy and convenience of the "deuteronomistic" hypothesis in Old Testament studies does not necessarily mean that it is valid and certainly does not exempt it from critical (if heretical) assault.

passages in Chapter VI is intended, in part, to be a step in that direction.

There are relatively few text-critical problems directly affecting BMH in 1-2 Kings; these will be noted in the course of Chapter VI. Three passages, however, call for special attention.

III.G.1. 2 Kgs. 23:5a

> *w^{e}hišbît 'et-hakk^{e}mārîm '^{a}šer nāt^{e}nû malkê y^{e}hûdâ way^{e}qaṭṭēr babbāmôt b^{e}'arê y^{e}hûdâ ûm^{e}sibbê y^{e}rûšālaim*

The MT states that king Josiah himself "burned incense in the bamoth." This is doubtful, not because the pious reformer would never have done such a thing,[1] but because it is mentioned incongrously in the recounting of his reform measures directed, in part, against the bamoth. The LXX and Targum point to *way^{e}qaṭṭ^{e}rû* ("and [the priests] burned incense"),[2] while the Peshitta, Vulgate, and Lucian presuppose *l^{e}qaṭṭēr* ("[the kings made the priests in order] to burn incense").[1] The latter reads more smoothly in the passage.[2]

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[1] As claimed by J. W. Wevers, "Principles of Interpretation Guiding the Fourth Translation of the Book of the Kingdoms (3 Kgs. 22:1-4 Kgs. 25:30)," *CBQ*, XIV (1952), 50.

[2] So, e.g., I. Benzinger, *Die Bücher der Könige*, KHCAT, IX (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1899), 192; Burney, *Notes*, p. 358; B. Stade and F. Schwally, *The Books of Kings*, trans. by R. E. Brünnow and P. Haupt. SBOT, IX (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1904), 293; O. Eissfeldt, "Die Bücher der Könige," *Die Heil-*

The LXX differs from the MT in the insertion of a conjunction between *babbāmôt* and *b^{e}'ārê*. As this reading is unique among the textual witnesses, it is probably best understood as an interpretive addition.[3]

III.G.2. 2 Kgs. 23:8b

> *w^{e}nātaṣ ’et-bāmôt hašš^{e}'ārîm ’^{a}šer-petaḥ ša'ar*
> *y^{e}hôšu'a śar-hā'îr ’^{a}šer-ś^{e}mō’wl ’îš b^{e}ša'ar hā'îr*

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ige Schrifte des Alten Testaments, 4th ed., ed. by E. Kautzsch and A. Bertholet, I (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1922), 580; S. Landersdorfer, *Die Bücher der Könige*, HSAT, III, pt. 2 (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1927), 229; Wevers, "Principles of Interpretation," p. 50.

[1] So, e.g., Montgomery, *Kings*, pp. 529, 539; Gray, *I-II Kings*, p. 730 note d. This is the reading reflected in the KJV, RSV, and NEB translations.

[2] Cf. L. C. Allen's suggestion that the MT is the result of a marginal notation, intended to draw attention to Ahaz' incense burning at the bamoth (2 Kgs. 16:4), having been mistaken for a correction and inserted into the text in place of the original *l^{e}qaṭṭēr* ("More Cuckoos in the Textual Nest: At 2 Kings XXIII 5; Jeremiah XVII 3, 4; Micah III 3; VI 16 [LXX]; 2 Chronicles XX 25 [LXX]," *JTS*, XXIV [1973], 69f.).

[3] Cf. Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, p. 293; Wevers, "Principles of Interpretation," p. 53.

The first textual difficulty in this verse concerns the number of bamoth at this particular gate. The MT sees several, the Versions only one. The sing. construct **bāmat* (orthographically indistinguishable from the MT's *bāmôt* when written defectively) is probably to be preferred.[1] The LXX's *oikos*, which some commentators have adopted,[2] is more likely a scribal misreading of *byt* for *bmt*.[3] A second problem concerns the phrase *b^{e}ša'ar hā'îr* which some would read *bā' ša'ar hā'îr* (cf. Lucian, Targ.).[4] The change would not alter the sense of the passage; the installation lay to one's left whether "entering" or standing "in" the gate. Finally, *hašš^e'ārîm* is suspect on exegetical grounds and will be examined in Chapter VI.C.5 below.

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[1] So, e.g., Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, p. 294; Eissfeldt, "Könige," p. 581; Landersdorfer, *Könige*, p. 230; N. H. Snaith, "The Meaning of *ś^e'îrîm*," *VT*, XXV (1975), 116. Cf. Montgomery, *Kings*, p. 532. Vaughan raises the possibility that *bāmôt* may be correct as a "plural of local extension" or "a variant (but correct) vocalization of the feminine singular construct, under the influence of Phoenician" (*Meaning*, p. 14; cf. also p. 61 notes 39, 40, and 41).

[2] So, e.g., Benzinger, *Könige*, p. 193; Burney, *Notes*, p. 359; Gray, *I-II Kings*, p. 730 note i.

[3] The LXX's *oikos* in 2 Kgs. 23:13 is probably to be explained in this way as well; cf. Daniel, *Recherches*, p. 46 note 38.

[4] So, e.g., J. Skinner, *I-II Kings*, New-Century Bible, VII (New York: Henry Frowde, [1893]), 420; Delitzsch, *Lese- und Screibfehler*, p. 22; Eissfeldt, "Könige," p. 581; Landersdorfer, *Könige*, p. 230; Gray, *I-II Kings*, p. 730 note k. Montgomery rightly sees this as interpretive (*Kings*, p. 539).

III.G.3. 2 Kgs. 23:15

w^{e}gam ’et-hammizbēaḥ ’^{a}šer b^{e}bệt-’ēl habbāmâ ’^{a}šer 'āśâ yārob'ām ben-n^{e}bāṭ ’^{a}šer heḥ^{e}ṭî’ ’et-yiśrā’ēl gam ’et-hammizbēaḥ hahû’ w^{e}’et-habbāmâ nātāṣ, wayyiśrōp ’et-habbāmâ hēdaq l^{e}'āpār w^{e}-śārap ’^{a}šērâ

The LXX differs significantly: *kai ge to thusiastērion to en Baithēl to hupsēlon . . . kai ge to thusiastērion ekeino to hupsēlon katespase, kai sunetripse tous lithous autou kai eleptunen eis choun, kai katakause to alsos*. This version of the passage points to a Hebrew original reading *way^{e}šabbēr ’et-’^{a}bānāyw*, "and he broke up its [= the altar's] stones," for *wayyiśrōp ’et-habbāmâ*, "and he burned the bamah." Although this reading is unique among the textual witnesses, it has been invariably adopted by modern commentators on the grounds that a bamah, by definition, cannot be "burned."[1] Such reasoning is hardly satisfactory, and fails to take note of the exegetical *Tendenz* of the Greek treatment of the verse. The translator saw the object of the destruction as "the altar in Bethel," without any mention of a bamah; the first two occurrences of BMH have become adjectival modifiers of thusiastērion. Having thus eliminated "the bamah" in vs. 15a, there was no place for it or its burning in vs. 15b. Consistent with his focus upon the altar, he (mis)read wyśrp ’t hbmh as the orthographically similar wyšbr ’t ’bn(y)w to produce a logical sequence of events in the altar's total annihilation; it is first dismantled, its individual stones are broken up, and the pieces pulverized so that not a trace of the former structure remained. Admittedly, the LXX version of the passage is much smoother and more coherent than the MT, but the very fact that the MT is stylistically awkward makes it likely that the Greek variant is an exegetical simplification. Since the MT does yield good sense once BMH is properly understood, the principle of lectio difficilor should apply.

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[1] So, e.g., Skinner, Benzinger, Burney, Stade and Schwally, Landersdorfer, Montgomery, Gray. See also W. Rudolph, "Zum Text der Königsbücher," *ZAW*, LXIII (1951), 215; Vaughan, *Meaning*, pp. 32f., 69 note 25.

If this explanation of the LXX's version is correct, it would also account for the omission of w^{e}’et before the second habbāmâ. The particles are supported by the other text-critical witnesses, and to delete them on the basis of the LXX alone (as does Vaughan) would be gratuitous.[1]

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[1] Vaughan, Meaning, p. 69 note 23. He attributes the presence of the conjunction in the MT to a scribe's mistaken impression that habbāmâ meant "the sanctuary" instead of "the altar" (p. 33). The scribe was "mistaken" only if a bamah was an altar-like structure, a conclusion for which the deletion of the conjunction in this verse is mandatory. It should be noted that this text-critical

III.H. *Isa. 6:13bα*

kā'ēlâ w^{e}ka'allôn '^{a}šer b^{e}šalleket maṣṣebet bām

The 1QIsa^{a} version of this passage is *k'lh wk'lwn 'šr mšlkt mṣbt bmh*, a reading which many commentators consider preferable to the MT. According to William H. Brownlee, "the combination *mṣbt bmh* (sacred column of a high-place) is too striking to dismiss";[1] for Albright, the corrected passage provides a "really classical" picture of the bamah phenomenon.[2] Upon closer inspection, however, such enthusiasm proved unwarranted.

Brownlee, Albright, and others who emend the MT on the basis of 1QIsa^{a}[3] assume a construct relationship between *mṣbt* and *bmh*.

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sleight-of-hand produces fully half of his textual evidence that *bāmâ* and *mizbēaḥ* "were synonymous (at least to the Deuteronomic writers)," and one third of his textual evidence (excluding Ezek. 16:16 for the reasons noted in p. 12 note 1 above) that ritual activity was conducted upon a bamah.

[1] W. H. Brownlee, "The Text of Isaiah 6:13 in the Light of DSIa," *VT*, I (1951), 296.

[2] Albright, "High Place," p. 254.

[3] See Brownlee, "Text of Isaiah 6:13," pp. 296-298; F. F. Hvidberg, "The Maṣṣebah and the Holy Seed," *Interpretationes ad Vetus Testamentum Pertinentes Sigmundo Mowinckel Septuagenario Missae* (Oslo: Forlaget Land og Kirke, 1955), pp. 97-99; Albright, "High Place," pp. 254f.; S. Iwry, "*Maṣṣebah* and *Bamah* in 1QIsaiah^{a} 6:13," *JBL*, LXXVI (1957), 225-232. Cf. also R. B. Y. Scott, "The Book of Isaiah, Chapters 1-39: Introduction and Exegesis," *Interpreter's Bible*, ed.

To do so, however, disregards the way in which this passage actually appears in the scroll. The scribe has separated these two words by an unusually large blank space of the sort used elsewhere in the scroll to mark sense divisions and the start of new sentences.[1] It is impossible to imagine a construct-chain bridging this gap! The scribe has clearly linked *bmh* to the words which follow it, and in this position it can hardly be a reference to a cultic installation.[2] Since BMH is not found in 1QIsa^a 6:13

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by G. A. Buttrick *et al*., V (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956), 213; A. Guillaume, "Some Readings in the Dead Sea Scroll of Isaiah," *JBL*, LXXVI (1957), 41 note 7; N. Walker, "The Masoretic Pointing of Jeremiah's Pun," *VT*, VII (1957), 413.

[1] Pointed out already by M. Burrows, "Variant Readings in the Isaiah Manuscript," *BASOR*, CXI (1948), 22 (but *contra* his later views in *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls* [New York: Viking Press, 1958], pp. 149f.). Cf. also P. Skehan, "Qumran and the Present State of Old Testament Studies: The Massoretic Text," *JBL*, LXXVIII (1959), 23. Such spaces occur at 8:3, 13, and 23, 15:5, and 19:21 (see M. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monestary*, I [New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950], Pls. VII, 1. 21; VIII, 11. 6, 17; XIII, 1. 11; XV, 1. 29).

[2] Cf. Vaughan, *Meaning*, p. 67 note 87; Barrick, "Funerary Character," pp. 586f.; K.-D. Schunck, "*bāmâ*," *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, ed. by G. J. Botterweck *et al*., trans. by J. T. Willis, II (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 1975), 145. It may be the preposition B with a 3rd-person pl. suffix and a final *h* (a characteristic of the scroll's orthography: cf. M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, *Text and Language in Bible and Qumran* [Jerusalem: Orient Publishing House, 1960], pp. 97ff.; E. Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll [IQIsa^a]*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, VI [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974], 444, 446ff.) or an introductory bammeh, "wherein, how" (see J. Sawyer, "The Qumran Reading of Isaiah 6:13," *ASTI*, III [1964], 111-113). Cf. also W. H. Brownlee, *The Meaning of the Qumran Scrolls for the*

or in any other version of this passage, there is no justification for adding it to the MT; the text is difficult, but does yield sense without it.[1]

III.I. Isa. 14:14

Attempts to date the satirical "Dirge for the King of Babylon" (Isa. 14:4b-21) have produced very conflicting results; it has been linked with practically every world leader from Sargon II to Alexander the Great.[2] Taken in situ, a post-Isaianic date seems probable, since Babylon was not an independent power in the 8th century. This is not conclusive, however; as John Bright observes, the poem itself

> does not mention Babylon and might apply to any tyrant; it swarms with mythological allusions of timeless antiquity. Only in its prose introduction and conclusion (14:3-4a, 22f.) is it applied to Babylon. Thus while the piece as a whole must date to the mid-6th cent., much of its material is of traditional character and presumably much

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Bible (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 239 (modifying his earlier opinion).

[1] Cf. recently G. W. Ahlström, "Isaiah VI.13," JSS, XIX (1974), 169-172.

[2] For the various opinions, see O. Kaiser, Isaiah 13-39: A Commentary, trans. by R. A. Wilson, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1974), pp. 30ff., and H. Wildberger, Jesaja, BK, X, pt. 7 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins, 1974), 542ff.

> older. It cannot be proved that any part goes back to Isaiah himself; but the possibility exists that pre-exilic material, some of it perhaps originally spoken of Assyria, has here been reapplied to Babylonia.[1]

It may be noted in this connection that reinterpretation, expansion, and adaptation to fit new historical circumstances characterize the poetic pronouncements against Israel's neighbors within the Isaiah corpus.[2]

III.J. Isa. 15:2 and 16:12

Scholarly opinion as to the date, authorship, and unity of the "Lament over Moab" (Isa. 15-16) is greatly divided, the options being:[3] (1) All (or most) of 15:1-16:12 was composed by Isaiah with reference to events occurring in his own lifetime, probably a successful Assyrian campaign against Moab.[1] (2) Isaiah adapted an older work to the Assyrian crisis of the late 8th century; the original has been linked to Jehoshaphat's war with Moab (2 Chron. 20:1-30).[2] (3) The poem is post-Isaianic and refers to events of the very late monarchic period. (4) The poem is a post-exilic creation from anywhere between the 5th and 2nd centuries. The appended note in 16:13 would tend to support either of the first two possibilities. Few commentators would deny that the poem contains at least some early material;[3] yet it is also likely that in its present form it has undergone a measure of later reworking.

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[1] J. Bright, "Isaiah I," Peake's Commentary on the Bible, ed. by M. Black and H. H. Rowley (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1962), p. 499.

[2] D. L. Christensen speaks of "layers of interpretation and reuse within the so-called school of Isaiah," making it extremely difficult to control an historical analysis of the material (Transformations of the War Oracle in Old Testament Prophecy, Harvard Dissertations in Religion, III [Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1975], 136f.); he seems to favor a 7th-6th-century date (p. 138). Isaianic authorship has recently been claimed by H. L. Ginsberg who sees the poem as a "spontaneous reaction" to the death of Sargon II, a monarch noted for his Babylonianism ("Reflexes of Sargon in Isaiah after 715 B.C.," JAOS, LXXXVIII [1968], 49ff.).

[3] Cf. Kaiser, Isaiah 13-39, pp. 60ff.; H. Wildberger, Jesaja, BK, X, pt. 8 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins, 1975), 603ff.

Isa. 15:2a, which is unanimously considered part of the original composition, is problematic: *'ālâ habbayit w^{e}dîbōn habbāmôt l^{e}bekî*. Attempts at a literalistic translation--"[Moab] has gone up to 'the House,' and Dibon *habbāmôt* . . ."[4] or "'the House' and Dibon have gone up *habbāmôt* . . . " (cf. Vulg.)[1]--are not altogether convincing. Most commentators have chosen to emend the MT, reading *'āl^{e}tâ bat-dîbōn habbāmôt l^{e}bekî*, "(the) daughter of Dibon has gone up *habbāmôt* to weep."[2] This is not impossible (cf.

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[1] Cf. recently J. B. Payne, "The Effect of Sennacherib's Anticipated Destruction in Isanic Prophecy," *Westminster Theological Journal*, XXXIV (1971-1972), 22-38.

[2] See especially Christensen, *Transformations*, pp. 140f.

[3] Bright and others have pointed to its "archaic flavor" as indicative of a pre-exilic date ("Isaiah I," p. 501); cf. O. Procksch, *Jesaia I*, KAT, IX (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1930), 225.

[4] Cf., e.g., F. Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah*, I, trans. by J. Martin, Clark's Foreign Theological Library, XIV (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1886), 324; C. von Orelli, *The Prophecies of Isaiah*, trans. by J. S. Banks, Clark's Foreign Theological Library, XXXVIII (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1889), 101;

G. W. Wade, *The Book of the Prophet Isaiah*, Westminster Commentaries, XXIII (London: Methuen & Co., 1911), 108; E. König, *Das Buch Jesaja* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1926), p. 189; P. Auvray, *Isaïe 1-39*, Sources Bibliques (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1972), pp. 170f.

[1] Cf., e.g., H. Ewald, *Commentary on the Prophets of the Old Testament*, trans. by J. F. Smith, II, Theological Translation Fund Library, XII (London: Williams and Norgate, 1876), 141; J. Knabenbauer, *Erklärung des Propheten Isaias* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1881), p. 214; C. J. Bredenkamp, *Der Prophet Jesaia* (Erlangen: A. Deichert, 1887), p. 100. "The House" could refer to the ruling dynasty (= "the [royal] house") or the residents of a city (= an abbreviated place-name).

[2] So, e.g., T. K. Cheyne, *The Book of the Prophet Isaiah*, SBOT, X (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1899), 119; Marti, *Jesaja*, p. 133; A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel*, IV (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1912), 279; G. B. Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Isaiah: I-XXVII*, ICC, XX (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912), 279; Duhm, *Jesaia*, p. 102; Skinner, *Isaiah I-XXXIX*, pp. 133f.; Procksch, *Jesaia I*, pp. 207f., 210; E. Power, "The Prophecy of Isaias against Moab," *Biblica*, XIII (1932), 444; Kissane, *Isaiah*, I, 185; A. Bentzen, *Jesaja I* (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad, 1944), p. 124; E. A. Leslie, *Isaiah* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1963), p. 251; W. Rudolph, "Jesaja XV-XVI," *Hebrew and Semitic Studies presented to Godfrey Rolles Driver*, ed. by D. W. Thomas and W. D. McHardy (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), pp. 130, 133f.; A. S. Herbert, *The Book of the Prophet Isaiah: Chapters 1-39*, Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), p. 107; Kaiser, *Isaiah 13-39*, p. 57; D. L. Petersen, "The Oracles against the Nations: A Form-Critical Analysis," *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers: 1975*, ed. by G. MacRae (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1975), I, 51; Wildberger, *Jesaja*, pp. 588, 590. For a discussion of the resultant terminology, see A. Fitzgerald, "BTWLT and BT as Titles for Capital Cities," *CBQ*, XXXVII (1975), 167-183.

Jer. 48:18), but it lacks the support of any textual witness;[1] 1QIsa^{a}, which often simplifies obscure passages, here duplicates the MT. An attractive alternative to emendation has been proposed by P. Wernberg-Møller who sees "Dibon" as the subject of *'ālâ* and introduced by a pleonastic *waw* which calls special attention to it.[2] Such intrusive *waw*s are not unusual in biblical Hebrew, and the word-order of this passage, thus understood, is paralleled in Hos. 8:6.[3]

Isa. 16:12 has received less scholarly attention because the text is seemingly straightforward: *w^{e}hāyâ kî-nir'â kî nil'â mô'āb 'al-habbāmâ, ûbā' 'el-miqdāšô l^{e}hitpallēl w^{e}lō' yûkāl*. The sense of the passage is clear enough; Moab's supplications for divine intervention on its behalf are in vain. This text is especially important because it is the only literary evidence that cultic activity might have taken place upon a bamah.[1] Having accepted the traditional view of a bamah as a hill-top shrine or man-made platform, commentators have had no cause to question the meaning of 'L here. But, as we have seen in Chapter II, the syntax of BMH usage elsewhere points unmistakably to an installation *within* which cultic activity occurred. Against this evidence, therefore, the use of 'L in 16:12 is an anomaly requiring explanation.

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[1] The Aramaic reads "they have gone up to the houses of Dibon, to the bamoth . . . "; the LXX has an expansion which is closer to the MT than to the proposed emendation.

[2] P. Wernberg-Møller, "'Pleonastic' *Waw* in Classical Hebrew," *JSS*, III (1958), 324. See also M. Pope, "'Pleonastic' *Waw* before Nouns in Ugaritic and Hebrew," *JAOS*, LXXIII (1953), 95-98.

[3] *kî miyyiśrā'ēl w^{e}hû'*; "surely, it (is) only (a product) of Israel" (with Pope, "'Pleonastic' *Waw*," pp. 96f.); the verb is not expressed, but the subject and predicate are reversed as in Isa. 15:2a. Note that 1QIsa^{a} seems to have preserved this stylistic peculiarity in 9:19 and 24:20, against the MT (cf. Wernberg-Møller, "'Pleonastic' *Waw*," pp. 321f.).

The conflict between 'L and B--i.e., between a bamah which is mounted and a bamah which is entered--is perhaps best resolved by supposing that 'L in 16:12 somewhat approximates B in meaning. This would be unusual, but not unprecedented: e.g., "they will be gathered together as prisoners in [= 'L] a pit; they will be imprisoned in [= B] a prison" (Isa. 24:22).[2] Considering the parallelism in 16:12, *'al-habbāmâ* and *ʼel-miqdāšô* could be seen as virtually synonymous. A semantic overlap of 'L and ʼL is well documented in biblical Hebrew:[3] e.g., "thus shall you say, each man to [= 'L] his neighbor and each man to [= ’L] his brother" (Jer. 23:35). This overlapping is most evident in exilic and post-exilic materials where it may be due to Aramaic influence.[1] This explanation, therefore, would tend to support those commentators who maintain that this verse is a late gloss based upon 15:2.[2] It is possible, of course, that 'L is a scribal error for an original ’L, a less elaborate solution for which there is some manuscriptal support.[3]

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[1] See p. 12 note 1 above.

[2] For an analogous use of ʼL, cf. Gen. 37:20, 22.

[3] See the large collection of examples assembled by A. Sperber, *A Historical Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966), pp. 59ff., 288, 631ff. His conclusion that 'L and ʼL are used "promiscuously" (p. 633) is extreme, however. This semantic phenomenon

The issue is complicated by the doublet *kî-nir’â kî nil’â*. Although its authenticity has been defended,[4] it is most probably

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was noted in conjunction with the 'LH + 'L construction in 1 Sam. 24:23, 2 Sam. 19:1, and 1 Kgs. 6:8 (cited by Sperber, p. 631); see p. 64 notes 1, 2, and 3 above.

[1] Cf. Joüon, *Grammaire*, p. 403; Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax*, p. 103. Cf. also M. H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), pp. 142, 172; G. Gerleman, *Synoptic Studies in the Old Testament*, Lunds Universitets Årsskrift, XLIV, pt. 5 (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1948), 16.

[2] Cf. Cheyne, Marti, Gray, Duhm, Skinner, Procksch, Rudolph, Kaiser, Wildberger.

[3] B. Kennicott, ed., *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum Variis Lectionibus*, II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1780), 21, cites 18 manuscripts which read ’L. The LXX's *epi tois bōmois* and the Targum's *'al bāmātā’* are inconclusive.

[4] Delitzsch considers it "a picturesque assonance such as Isaiah delights in" (*Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah*, I, 337). Cf. Procksch, *Jesaia I*, p. 222.

a conflation of two readings. L’H, the rarer of the two verbs,[1] has the support of the LXX, the Targum, and most commentators.[2] R’H is found in 1QIsa^{a}[3] and has been advocated by a number of critics who note that in Niphal it is a technical term for "appearing" before a deity (e.g., Isa. 1:12);[4] the preposition 'L will not admit this interpretation, however, unless it is harmonized with ’L.[5] Furthermore, the usual idiom for "appearing" at a particular place is R’H (in Niphal) + B, never ’L, and very rarely 'L.[6]

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[1] L’H is too sparsely attested to establish idiomatic prepositional usage. It occurs in Niphal twice more in Isaiah (1:14; 47:13) and four times in Jeremiah (6:11; 9:4; 15:6; 20:9), and in Hiphil in Isa. 7:13 and Jer. 12:5.

[2] So Cheyne, Marti, Gray, Duhm, Skinner, Bentzen, Auvray. Cf. Wildberger, Jesaja, p. 595. S. Talmon sees kî nir’â as a secondary variant reading originally preserved in the margin or interlinearly ("Double Readings in the Massoretic Text," Textus, I [1960], 162).

[3] This version has ky nr’h and replaces nl’h with b’. The latter may be a deliberate simplification or an error, since b’ occurs in the phrase immediately following. If it is authentic, however, 'L could easily be equivalent to ’L (cf., e.g., Ex. 18:23 where the Samaritan Pentateuch reads ’L in place of the MT's 'L).

[4] Cf. König, Kissane, Leslie, Herbert, Rudolph.

[5] The regular idiom for "to appear to (someone)" is R’H (in Niphal) + ’L: Gen. 12:7; 17:1; 18:1; 26:2, 24; 35:1, 9; 46:29; 48:3; Ex. 3:2, 16; 4:1, 5; 6:3; Lev. 9:4, 6, 23; 13:7, 19; Num. 14:10; 16:19; 20:6; Judg. 6:12; 13:3, 10, 21; 1 Kgs. 3:5; 9:2; 11:9; 18:1, 2, 15; Ps. 90:16; Dan. 8:1; 2 Chron. 7:12.

[6] Of the seven other occurrences of R’H (in Niphal) + 'L only 2 Sam. 22:11, Lev. 16:2 (although the neutral "at" would yield sat-

III.K. *Isa. 53:9a*

wayyittēn ’et-r^{e}šā'îm qibrô w^{e}’et-'āšîr b^{e}mōtāyw

This notorious *crux interpretum* is the cornerstone of Albright's argument for the essentially funerary character of the bamah phenomenon.[1] Since his treatment of the passage has been analyzed in detail elsewhere,[2] it will suffice to draw attention only to a few salient points raised in that earlier discussion.

The consonantal MT does allow for a simple revocalization of the problematic *b^{e}mōtāyw*, "in his deaths," to obtain *bāmōtāyw*, "his bamoth," but this change does not really improve the parallelism which is supposed to exist in the passage. Consequently, Albright and many others have turned to the reading found in 1QIsa^{a}: *wytn ’t rš'ym qbrw w'm 'šyrym bwmtw*. The sing. *bwmtw*, according

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isfactory sense), and possibly Ezek. 10:1 (where the imagery is mystifying) require the idea of superimposition. The context of Ex. 5:21 and Zech. 9:14 (if "them" refers to the enemies) suggests that 'L may have the hostile nuance "against." In Ps. 90:16 'L and ’L are synonymous; cf. also Isa. 60:2 where the phrase is in parallel with ZRḤ + 'L, the regular idiom for the appearance of the sun at its rising (Ex. 22:2; 2 Kgs. 3:22; cf. Isa. 60:1), which may account for the overlap.

[1] Albright, "High Place," especially pp. 244ff. Cf. also Vaughan, *Meaning*, pp. 16ff. and accompanying notes.

[2] Barrick, "Funerary Character," pp. 567, 580ff.

to Albright, is "unquestionably a more correct spelling" of the expected **bāmātô*, and serves to bolster his reconstruction of the etymology of BMH.[1] He translates the half-line, with additional corrections, "and his grave was put with the wicked, and his *funerary installation* with demons."[2]

The crucial defect in Albright's position is his use of the 1QIsa^a version of 53:9a for emendational purposes without considering its meaning in its own right. Three factors should be pointed out in this regard:

1. Albright and most commentators assume a complementary parallelism between vs. 9aα and vs. 9aβ, as suggested by the MT's *’et* : *w^e’et*. It has been noted by A. Rubinstein that "agreement of prepositions in parallel clauses is found more frequently in the scroll than in the MT."[3] The scroll's *’t* : *w'm*[4] is signifi-

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[1] Albright, "High Place," pp. 245, 255ff. See Chapter VII below.

[2] *Ibid*., pp. 245f. "Demons" results from an indefensible emendation of *'šyrym*; cf. Barrick, "Funerary Character," p. 583 and note 101, and Vaughan, *Meaning*, p. 16.

[3] A. Rubinstein, "The Theological Aspects of Some Variant Readings in the Isaiah Scroll," *JJS*, VI (1955), 189.

[4] The *mem* is superimposed upon something else and an interlinear insertion made (all very difficult to make out), indicating some uncertainty about this word. The *ayin* is clear, however, and precludes the MT's *w^e’et*.

cant, therefore, and would seem to be indicative of an adversative relationship between the two clauses.

2. The pl. *'šyrym* is the expected form to complement *rš'ym* (cf. LXX, Targ.).[1] This form does appear in the 1QIsa^a version of the passage, but at some point in the active life of the scroll the pl. ending was *erased*, thereby indicating a deliberate preference for the sing. form.[2]

3. Albright has completely neglected the semantic implications of the scroll's spelling of BMH. The familiar spelling with *ā* in the first syllable occurs in 15:2, 16:12, and 36:7,[3] and in all three the word plainly refers to a cultic installation. The spelling with an initial o-vowel, as here, occurs in 14:14 and 58:14 where the reference is definitely *not* to a cultic installation. With this spelling thus confined to the "secular" BMH in

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[1] Commentators have questioned the integrity of the MT's *'āšîr* on the grounds that it makes a poor parallel both in form and content for *r^{e}šā'îm*; so most recently Vaughan, *Meaning*, pp. 16f. (for further references, see Barrick, "Funerary Character," p. 580 note 85). The potential for emendation is limited, however, because all textual witnesses testify to *'šyr(ym)*.

[2] Whether the pl. is a scribal error, an *ad hoc* improvement of the text, or a genuine textual variant which came to be rejected cannot be determined; cf. Barrick, "Funerary Character," p. 582.

[3] This is assured by the superscribed *aleph* in 15:2.

1QIsa^{a}, we must conclude that the scroll's *bwmtw* in 53:9a also belongs to the "secular" category.

These three factors argue against Albright's interpretation of 1QIsa^{a} 53:9a and the relevance of the passage for explicating the bamah phenomenon.

Regardless of the meaning of the scroll's version of 53:9a,[1] it is questionable whether the MT should be emended accordingly. The MT's *b^{e}mōtāyw* does yield good sense, whatever the relationship between the clauses,[2] and should perhaps be retained on the principle of *lectio difficilor*. Since only 1QIsa^{a} of the ancient textual witnesses does not presuppose a form of MWT here, it is possible that *bwmtw* is a simplification (perhaps theologically motivated) of the MT's highly unusual pl. construction of this word.

III.L. Jer. 7:31a; 19:5a; 32:35a.

> *ûbānû bāmôt hattōpet ’^{ă}šer b^{e}gê’ ben-hinnōm liśrōp ’et-b^{e}nêhem w^{e}’et-b^{e}nōtêhem bā’ēš* (7:31a)

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[1] See Chapter V.F below.

[2] Cf. Barrick, "Funerary Character," pp. 583f. and accompanying notes.

ûbānû ’et-bāmôt habba'al liśrōp ’et-b^{e}nêhem bā’ēš 'ōlôt labba'al (19:5a)

wayyibnû ’et-bāmôt habba'al ’^{a}šer b^{e}gê’ ben-hinnōm l^{e}ha'^{a}bîr ’et-b^{e}nêhem w^{e}’et-b^{e}nôtêhem lammōlek (32:35aα)

It is difficult to locate these passages within the compositional history of the Jeremiah corpus with any precision. Consistent with the prose discourses in the book generally, the three pericopes display a stylistic affinity with Deuteronomy and with the "deuteronomistic" editorializing in 1-2 Kings.[1] J. P. Hyatt attributes them to a "deuteronomistic" editor who wished to give the erroneous impression that the prophet was an active proponent of the Josianic reform which had successfully eradicated the cultic activity referred to (2 Kgs. 23:10).[2] It is much more likely, however, that they reflect a genuine Jeremanic polemic against what was happening in the Ben-Hinnom valley. A hint of this is found in Jer. 2:23, a poetic passage in which the prophet refutes the people's claim to "have never followed the Baals" by pointing to their "behavior[1] in *the* valley."[2] Such a polemic may well have been delivered during the reign of Josiah.[3]

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[1] There are clear stylistic differences, however: cf. J. Bright, "The Date of the Prose Sermons of Jeremiah," *JBL*, LXX (1951), 15-35; H. Weippert, *Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches*, BZAW, CXXXII (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1973). The three passages under discussion illustrate the point (see below).

[2] J. P. Hyatt, "Jeremiah and Deuteronomy," *JNES*, I (1942), 166f.

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[1] Or "path," consistent with the metaphor; cf. K. E. Bailey and W. L. Holladay, "The 'Young Camel' and 'Wild Ass' in Jer. II 23-25," *VT*, XVIII (1968), 256-260.

[2] This is the only occurrence of *gê'* in the book which is not expressly identified as the Ben-Hinnom "valley." Most commentators make the connection here: cf., e.g., H. Ewald, *Commentary on the Prophets of the Old Testament*, trans. by J. F. Smith, III, Theological Translation Fund Library, XVIII (London: Williams and Norgate, 1878), 101f.; F. Giesebrecht, *Das Buch Jeremia*, HKAT, III (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1894), 10; S. R. Driver, *The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1906), p. 10; A. S. Peake, *Jeremiah and Lamentations*, I, New-Century Bible, XVI (New York: Henry Frowde, [1910]), 96; J. Skinner, *Prophecy and Religion: Studies in the Life of Jeremiah* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926), p. 62; P. Volz, *Der Prophet Jeremia*, 2d ed., KAT, X (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1928), 26; F. Nötscher, *Das Buch Jeremias*, HSAT, VII, pt. 2 (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1934), 44; W. Rudolph, *Jeremia*, HAT, XII (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1947), 17; J. P. Hyatt, "The Book of Jeremiah: Introduction and Exegesis," *Interpreter's Bible*, ed. by G. A. Buttrick *et al*., V (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956), 819; J. Bright, *Jeremiah*, AB, XXI (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1965), 15f.; E. W. Nicholson, *The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah*, I, Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 37. For the view that the reference is to cultic activity in *any* valley, cf. B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremiah*, KHCAT, XI (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1901), 26; W. McKane, "Jeremiah II 23-25: Observations on the Versions and History of Exegesis," *OTS*, XVII (1972), 82.

[3] For a defense of the traditional view that Jeremiah was active during the reign of Josiah (cf. 1:2; 3:6; 25:3; 36:2), see especially T. W. Overholt, "Some Reflections on the Date of Jeremiah's Call," *CBQ*, XXXIII (1971), 165-184. C. 627-616 has been suggested as the date of the polemic by J. Milgrom, "The Date of Jeremiah, Chapter 2," *JNES*, XIV (1955), 65-69. Other critics would place Jeremiah's

Of the three prose versions of this polemic 7:31a and 19:5a are interrelated through the use of the idiom ŚRP + bā'ēš; the latter passage is part of an intrusive expansion of the broken-bottle story and thus may be secondary.[1] The "burning" of children is otherwise mentioned only in Deut. 12:31 (as an especially loathsome practice of the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Canaan) and 2 Kgs. 17:31 (as a practice of the transplanted Sepharvites). The version in Jer. 32:35, however, uses the verb 'BR (in Hiphil) --without bā'ēš--to express this activity. This usage recurs in Lev. 18:21 (also in reference to Molek worship), Ezek. 16:21 (as activity directed to the "images of men" which Jerusalem has made

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activity no earlier than the first year of Jehoiakim (609): cf. recently C. F. Whitley, "The Date of Jeremiah's Call," VT, XIV (1964), 467-483; J. P. Hyatt, "The Beginning of Jeremiah's Prophecy," ZAW, LXXVIII (1966), 204-214; W. L. Holladay, "A Fresh Look at 'Source B' and 'Source C' in Jeremiah," VT, XXV (1975), 409ff. Central to this question is the nature of Josiah's reform and Jeremiah's reaction to it, and to determine the latter one must correctly understand the former. Specifically, if Josiah destroyed the topheth installation (2 Kgs. 23:10), the references to it in Jeremiah would either (1) antedate the reform (and thereby support the traditional date for the prophet) or (2) indicate that the installation was restored immediately after Josiah's death (thereby enabling the prophet to criticize it after 609). If this premise is faulty, however, neither argument applies. See Chapter VI.C.3 below (especially p. 337 note 2).

[1] Cf., e.g., Giesebrecht, Jeremia, p. 108; Rudolph, Jeremia, pp. 107ff.; E. A. Leslie, Jeremiah (New York: Abingdon Press, 1954), pp. 318f.; Hyatt, "Jeremiah," pp. 966ff.; Bright, Jeremiah, p. 131; M. Weinfeld, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 28f.; Nicholson, Jeremiah, I, 162f.

[vs. 17]), and Ezek. 23:37 (directed to "idols"); in all three cases sexual connotations are suggested by the context. It would appear from this distribution that Jer. 32:35 comes from a different and later stratum of the Jeremiah corpus than either 7:31a or 19:5a.

Both of these strata are stylistically distinct from the strand of 1-2 Kings to which the account of Josiah's treatment of the practice belongs: w^{e}timmē’ ’et-haṭṭōpet ’^{a}šer b^{e}gê’ ben-hinnōm, l^{e}biltî l^{e}ha'^{a}bîr ’îš ’et-b^{e}nô w^{e}’et-bittô bā’ēš lammōlek (2 Kgs. 23:10). The idiom 'BR (in Hiphil) + bā’ēš recurs in Deut. 18:10 (which prohibits Israel from indulging in the practice when in Canaan), 2 Kgs. 16:3 (which criticizes Ahaz for doing it), 2 Kgs. 17:17 (which criticizes the people of the defunct Northern Kingdom for doing it), and 2 Kgs. 21:6 (which criticizes Manasseh for doing it);[1] three of these passages link the practice to various modes of divination. 2 Kgs. 23:10 allows us to associate this idiom with the "Josianic" edition of the work.[2] The similar idiom in Jer. 32:35 would appear to be somewhat later. If Jer. 7:31a and 19:5a antedate 32:35, the chronological locus of ŚRP + *bā'ēš* may be approximately contemporary with the practice being described.[1]

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[1] Also Ezek. 20:31.

[2] Note that the attribution of this practice to Ahaz (2 Kgs. 16:3b) interrupts the conventional "Hezekian" judgmental formula (vss. 2b, 4), suggestive of a secondary addition. The occurrence in Deut. 18:10 is consistent with our dating of 18:6-8 (see Chapter VI.C.2 below). Only 2 Kgs. 17:17 seems to fall outside this stratum (see p. 122 note 2 above), although a detailed redactional analysis of this very complex chapter may prove otherwise.

The pl. *bāmôt* in Jer. 7:31a is problematic. Virtually all commentators follow the LXX and Targum which point to a Hebrew text containing the sing. construct **bāmat*.[2] The change is attractive in view of 2 Kgs. 23:10 which suggests that "the topheth" was a specific installation in the Ben-Hinnom valley and which, therefore, may have had only one bamah. Conversely, the Versions may be in error here, as they support the pl. reading in 19:5a and 32:35.[3]

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[1] See further Chapter VI.C.3 below (especially p. 340 note 3).

[2] So, e.g., C. F. Keil, *The Prophecies of Jeremiah*, I, trans. by D. Patrick, Clark's Foreign Theological Library, XL (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1873), 168; Giesebrecht, *Jeremia*, p. 50; Duhm, *Jeremiah*, p. 84; Driver, *Jeremiah*, p. 46; Peake, *Jeremiah and Lamentations*, I, 155; D. Rothstein, "Das Buch Jeremia," *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, 4th ed., ed. by E. Kautzsch and A. Bertholet, I (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1922), 746; Volz, *Jeremia*, p. 201; Nötscher, *Jeremias*, p. 88; Rudolph, *Jeremia*, p. 48; J. A. Bewer, *The Book of Jeremiah*, I, Harper's Annotated Bible (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951), 33; Leslie, *Jeremiah*, pp 129f.; Bright, *Jeremiah*, p. 57; Nicholson, *Jeremiah*, I, 82f.; Vaughan, *Meaning*, pp. 14, 61 note 42. Cf. p. 127 note 1 above.

[3] A number of commentators (e.g., Duhm, Volz, Rudolph, Leslie, Vaughan) read **bāmat* here as well to agree with 7:31. According to Nötscher, the pl. form "ist vielleicht absichtliche rhetorische Verallgemeinerung für das eine Tophet" (*Jeremias*, p. 154). This seems a

III.M. *Jer. 17:3*[1]

ḥêlᵉkā kol-ʼôṣᵉrôtêkā lābaz ʼettēn, bāmōtêkā
bᵉḥaṭṭāʼt bᵉkol-gᵉbûlêkā

There is general agreement among commentators that *bāmōtêkā* is a corruption, probably of *bimḥîr*.[2] The latter is found in 15:13, a near duplicate of this passage, and has the support of the Targum.[3] The MT's reading may be explained as a scribal misreading (*bmḥyr* and *bmtyk* being easily confused) or a marginal annotation, perhaps inspired by vs. 2, identifying the "sin" which has crept into the text.[4]

III.N. *Jer. 48:35b*

Opinions concerning the authorship, date, and compositional

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likely explanation, especially in view of the probable secondary status of the two passages.

[1] Omitting the first two words which conclude vs. 2.

[2] So, e.g., Ewald, Duhm, Rothstein, Volz, Nötscher, Rudolph, Bewer, Leslie, Hyatt, Bright, Nicholson. Vaughan does not discuss the passage.

[3] Jer. 17:3 is omitted from the LXX. The MT of 15:13 reads *ḥêlᵉkā wᵉʼôsᵉrôtêkā lābaz ʼettēn lōʼ bimḥîr, ûbᵉkol-ḥaṭṭôʼtêkā ûbᵉkol-gᵉbûlêkā*. Cf. now J. G. Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah*, Harvard Semitic Monographs, VI (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 133.

[4] Cf. P. Volz, *Studien zum Text des Jeremia*, Sächsische Forschungsinstitute für Religionsgeschichte israelitisch-jüdische Ab-

unity of Jer. 48 diverge much as with Isa. 15-16 (see above). A Jeremanic origin is not impossible,[1] but the tendency has been to ascribe most (if not all) of this chapter to other hands.[2] It certainly contains a great deal of material drawn from elsewhere and extensively reworked. There is general agreement that some form of Isa. 15-16 has influenced this series of poems and prose comments against Moab,[3] especially in vss. 29-38.[4]

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teilung, IV (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1920), 146; Allen, "More Cuckoos," pp. 70f.

[1] Cf., e.g., C. F. Keil, The Prophecies of Jeremiah, II, trans. by J. Kennedy, Clark's Foreign Theological Library, XLI (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1874), 208f.; C. von Orelli, The Prophecies of Jeremiah, trans. by J. S. Banks, Clark's Foreign Theological Library, XXXIX (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1889), 342; A. S. Peake, Jeremiah and Lamentations, II, New-Century Bible, XVII (New York: Henry Frowde, [1911]), 226f.; Rudolph, Jeremia, pp. 238f.; van Zyl, Moabites, pp. 24f.; J. Paterson, "Jeremiah," Peake's Commentary on the Bible, ed. by M. Black and H. H. Rowley (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1962), p. 560. H. Bardtke ("Jeremia der Fremdvölkerprophet," ZAW, LIV [1936], especially 242) and most recently Christensen (Transformations, pp. 242ff.) argue pursuasively for an authentic Jeremanic composition of Josianic date.

[2] Cf., e.g., Giesebrecht, Jeremia, pp. 235ff.; Duhm, Jeremiah, p. 345; Volz, Jeremia, pp. 378ff., 408ff.; Bentzen, Introduction, II, 117; Leslie, Jeremiah, p. 286; E. W. Nicholson, The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, II, Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 177. According to Skinner, "the effort to disentangle a Jeremianic nucleus . . . hardly repays the labor spent on it" (Prophecy and Religion, pp. 239f. note 3). Cf. Eissfeldt, Introduction, pp. 362ff.

[3] According to Bardtke, however, the common passages are Jeremanic in origin ("Jeremia," p. 248). Bright suggests that the two versions evolved from a common prototype ("Isaiah I," p. 501; Jeremiah, p. 322). Cf. also Leslie, Jeremiah, p. 286.

The MT of vs. 35b is problematic: *ma'^{a}leh bāmâ ûmaqṭîr lē'lōhāyw*. Many commentators consider *ma'^{a}leh bāmâ* to be defective. The LXX and Targum suggest that the preposition 'L be supplied. The LXX further suggests that the verbal form should be in Qal rather than in Hiphil: *'ōleh 'al habbāmâ*; "(who) goes up upon the bamah."[1] Another possibility is raised by the Peshitta (cf. also Jer. 33:18): *ma'^{a}leh 'ōlâ 'al habbāmâ*; "(who) offers up an offering upon the bamah."[2] The argument for emendation in both cases assumes that the MT's reading resulted from the omission of one or more sets of duplicate consonants (haplography), but the reverse (dittography) seems an equally plausible explanation for the Versional readings. Retention of the MT with as little alteration as necessary to make sense of it would thus appear to be the wisest procedure to follow. In this event, the most likely emendation would be the addition of the preposition B; its use with BMH is quite regular (whereas 'L would be exceptional), and its omission before a word beginning with the consonant *b* is no

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[4] For the correspondences, see Bright, *Jeremiah*, p. 321, and Wildberger, *Jesaja*, pp. 607ff.

[1] So, e.g., Ewald, Orelli, Giesbrecht, Duhm, Rothstein, Volz, Nötscher, Leslie.

[2] So, e.g., Rudolph, Bright, Christensen. According to Ehrlich, the original *'ōlâ* was lost through haplography and replaced with *bāmâ* (*Randglossen*, IV, 358).

novelty.[1] Even this is not essential, however, in view of the (albeit rare) occurrences of the 'LH (in Hiphil) + 0 construction elsewhere in the Old Testament.[2]

III.0. *Ezek. 36:2*

kōh ’āmar ’^{a}dōnāy YHWH ’āmar hā’ôyēb '^{a}lêhem
ḫe’āh ûbāmôt 'ôlām l^{e}môrāšâ hāy^{e}tâ lānû

Ezek. 36:1-15, an oracle addressed to "the mountains of Israel" (vss. 1, 8), depicts Israel as a ruined and depopulated land which Yahweh vows to make once again fruitful and prosperous. Vss. 2-5 recite Israel's plight at the hands of its greedy neighbors, and Edom in particular, whose "possession" it has now become (vss. 3, 5). The scornful boast quoted in vs. 2 is cited as evidence against the "enemy."[3] It is somewhat surprising that it should contain *bāmôt*, since this form of the word carries the technical "cultic" sense elsewhere (cf. 6:3, 6; 16:16; 43:7 [but see below]). Taking note of the sing. *hāy^{e}tâ*, Vaughan suggests that it is a mocking reference to the Jerusalem Temple;[1] this is forced, however, and does not really suit the context. The LXX's *euge erēma aiōnia eis kataschesin hēmin egenēthē* ("Ah, the eternal desolations have become a possession for us") points to a Hebrew text reading *šimᵉmôt 'ōlām*. This phrase occurs in 35:9 where, however, the LXX is probably correct in reading the sing. construct (cf. 35:3, 4, 7, 12, 14, 15). Most commentators have emended the MT of 36:2 accordingly, generally reading the sing. to agree with *hāyᵉtâ*.[2] The assumption that a scribe mistakenly wrote *bm(w)t* for *šmm(w)t*, however, is somewhat difficult to accept. Vs. 3 suggests an attractive alternative in *šammôt* (otherwise attested only in Ps. 46:9).[3]

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[1] Cf. the remarks by G. R. Driver, "Linguistic and Textual Problems: Jeremiah," *JQR*, XXVIII (1937-1938), 124.

[2] See Chapter II.B above.

[3] For the legal format of the pericope, cf. H. G. Reventlow, *Wächter Über Israel: Ezechiel und seine Tradition*, BZAW, LXXXII (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1962), 60ff.

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[1] Vaughan, *Meaning*, pp. 15, 62 notes 48 and 49. Cf. Ps. 74:3.

[2] Cf., e.g., C. H. Toy, *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel*, SBOT, XII (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1899), 97; D. Rothstein, "Das Buch Ezechiel," *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, 4th ed., ed. by E. Kautzsch and A. Bertholet, I (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1922), 970; J. Hermann, *Ezechiel*, KAT, XI (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1924), 226; A. Bertholet, *Hesekiel*, 2d ed., HAT, XIII (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1936), 122; G. A. Cooke, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel*, ICC, XXIII (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1936), 386, 394; E. Jenni, "Das Wort *'ōlām* im Alten Testament," *ZAW*, LXIV (1952), 227 note 2, 242; G. Fohrer, *Ezechiel*, HAT, XIII (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1955), 199; D. M. G. Stalker, *Ezekiel*, Torch Bible Commentaries (London: SCM, 1968), pp. 250f.; W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel: A Commentary*, trans. by C. Quin, OTL (London: SCM, 1970), pp. 488, 490; K. W. Carley, *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel*, Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 239.

[3] Cf. C. H. Cornill, *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel* (Leipzig:

III.P. *Ezek. 43:7b*

w^{e}lō’ y^{e}tamm^{e}’û 'ôd bêt-yiśrā’ēl šēm qodšî hēmmâ

ûmalkêhem biz^{e}nûtām ûb^{e}pigrê malkêhem bāmôtām

According to this passage, Israel has offended Yahweh by certain misdeeds at the bamoth, specifically "their whoredom" and "the pegarim of their kings" (evidently some sort of funerary practice).[1] The MT's *bāmôtām* is suspect, however, on both syntactical and contextual grounds. No preposition connects it to the rest of the sentence[2] and, more importantly, in the command to cease these practices the word is conspicuously absent: *'attâ y^{e}raḥ^{a}qû ’et-*

J. C. Hinrichs, 1886), p. 410; A. Bertholet, *Das Buch Hesekiel*, KHCAT, XII (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1897), 179. For the most complete recent discussion of both verses, see Zimmerli, *Ezechiel*, pp. 854, 863f.

[1] PGR usually means "corpse" in Hebrew, but this sense is inappropriate here because we have no other indication that the kings of Judah were buried in such close proximity to the Temple. An alternative meaning has been sought through Ugaritic. Albright (following D. Neiman, "PGR: A Canaanite Cult-Object in the Old Testament," *JBL*, LXVII [1948], 55-60) suggests "funerary stele," and uses this verse to support his view that the bamah phenomenon was fundamentally part of a cult-of-the-dead ("High Place," especially p. 247). More recently, however, J. H. Ebach has argued from a reassessment of the Ugaritic material that some sort of sacrifice ("Toten-Opfer") is meant here ("PGR = [Toten-]Opfer?," *UF*, III [1971], 365-368).

[2] It might be supposed, of course, that the preposition B has dropped out of the text (haplography) or was intentionally omitted for phoentic reasons; cf. Albright, "High Place," pp. 246f.

z^{e}nûtām ûpigrê malkêhem mimmennî, w^{e}šākantî b^{e}tôkām l^{e}'ôlām (vs. 9).[1] Moreover, it is somewhat surprising that bamoth should be mentioned here in conjunction with a description of the Temple precincts (cf. vs. 8). There is manuscriptal support for *b^{e}môtām* ("in their death" or "when they died"), a minor revocalization which has been adopted by most commentators (cf. also Targ.).[2] The LXX's *en mesō autōn* points to *b^{e}tôkām*, "in their midst," which would perfect the congruency with vs. 9.[3] Either would better suit the passage than does *bāmôtām*.

III.Q. Amos 4:13

text

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[1] To claim that vs. 9 is an abbreviation of vs. 7 (so, e.g., Zimmerli, *Ezechiel*, p. 1083) is to rationalize away the problem.

[2] So, e.g., Bertholet, *Hesekiel*, p. 217 (= 2d ed., p. 150); Toy, *Ezekiel*, p. 109; A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel*, V (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1912), 148; A. B. Davidson and A. W. Streane, *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel*, Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges, XXVII (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916), 354; H. G. May, "The Book of Ezekiel: Introduction and Exegesis," *Interpreter's Bible*, ed. by G. A. Buttrick *et al.*, VI (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956), 302; Zimmerli, *Ezechiel*, p. 1070; D. Baltzer, *Ezechiel und Deuterojesaja*, BZAW, CXXI (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1971), 55 note 42; Ebach, "PGR," p. 368 note 16; Carley, *Ezekiel*, p. 285.

[3] So, e.g., Fohrer, *Ezechiel*, p. 243; Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, p. 553 note h. The possibility of a dittograph of *b^{e}tittām* which follows immediately (or a conflation of two variant readings, or perhaps even a marginal note which has intruded into the text) may also be considered: e.g., Rothstein, "Ezechiel," p. 989; Cooke, *Ezekiel*, p. 464; Vaughan, *Meaning*, p. 65 note 74

Commentators agree that this verse is an extract from a hymn in praise of Yahweh. Opinions as to the extent and structure of the original hymn and its date relative to the Amos corpus, however, are much more divergent. The second of these questions is of concern here.

James L. Crenshaw is the most recent exponent of the widely held view that 4:13 and the other two "doxologies" in Amos (5:8-9; 9:5-6) are late additions to the book.[1] This conclusion is based upon four basic arguments:[1] (1) they interrupt their present contexts in the book; (2) they reflect a late creation-oriented theology which offers a picture of Yahweh different from that found in the undisputed Amos material; (3) in language and style they resemble exilic and post-exilic literature more than Amos; (4) a similar "doxology" in the LXX version of Hos. 13:4 shows that such insertions are possible in Amos as well. For Crenshaw "no single argument is conclusive, but it must be admitted that the cumulative evidence favors, nay, almost demands, the assumption that the doxologies do not come from Amos, and, in fact, are from a much later time."[2]

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[1] J. L. Crenshaw, *Hymnic Affirmation of Divine Justice: The Doxologies of Amos and Related Texts in the Old Testament*, Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series, XXIV (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1975). Cf. also, e.g., K. Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, KHCAT, XIII (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1904), 152, 185; W. R. Harper, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Amos and Hosea*, ICC, XXV (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905), cxxxiii, 102, 113, 190; Ehrlich, *Randglossen*, V, 239; K. Budde, "Zu Text und Auslegung des Buches Amos," *JBL*, XLIV (1925), 106; F. Horst, "Die Doxologien im Amosbuch," *ZAW*, XLVII (1929), 45-54; E. Sellin, *Das Zwolfprophetenbuch*, 2d-3d eds., KAT, XII, pt. 1 (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1929), 193; V. Maag, *Text, Wortschatz und Begriffswelt des Buches Amos* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1951), pp. 57f.; Bentzen, *Introduction*, II, 141; R. S. Cripps, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Amos*, 2d ed. (London: SPCK, 1969 [reprint of 1955 edition]), pp. 184f.; H. E. W. Fosbroke, "The Book of Amos: Introduction and Exegesis," *Interpreter's Bible*, ed. by G. A. Buttrick *et al.*, VI (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956), 775, 808f., 812, 847; G. J. Botterweck, "Zur Authentizität des Buches Amos," *BZ*, II (1958), 186; Weiser, *Old Testament*, p. 245; J. P. Hyatt, "Amos," *Peake's Commentary on the Bible*, ed. by M. Black and H. H. Rowley (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1962), p. 617; S. Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, trans. by D. R. Ap-Thomas (New York: Abingdon Press, 1967), I, 81 note 1a; J. L. Mays, *Amos: A Commentary*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1969), pp. 83f.

Actually, these arguments are extremely weak when taken individually, and this obviates their cumulative force:

1. Crenshaw admits that 4:13 and 9:5-6 suit their contexts quite well as descriptions of the fearsome deity Israel is to "pre-

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[1] Crenshaw, Hymnic Affirmation, pp. 5-24. Cf. also G. A. Smith, The Book of the Twelve Prophets, I, Expositor's Bible, XXVII (New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1896), 201ff.; E. A. Edghill, The Book of Amos, ed. by G. A. Cooke, Westminster Commentaries, XXX (London: Methuen & Co., 1914), 46f.; S. R. Driver, The Books of Joel and Amos, 2d ed., Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges, XXX-XXXI (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915), 121f.; Cripps, Amos, pp. 184f.

[2] Crenshaw, Hymnic Affirmation, p. 24.

pare to meet" (4:12) and who has "set his eyes for evil" upon Israel (9:4).[1] The cogency of the contextual argument thus rests entirely with 5:8-9. It is claimed that these verses break into the prophet's message "in a sudden and violent way,"[2] but this is an aesthetic evaluation and as such highly subjective.[3] A more serious objection for Crenshaw is the fact that 'ōśēh in vs. 8a lacks a referent.[4] But the "maker" is identified by name as Yahweh later in the verse and, indeed, already in vs. 6a.[5]

2. The argument that the "doxologies" contain theological ideas later than or at variance with Amos' own is not particularly convincing. Crenshaw concedes that "creation faith" probably ex-

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[1] Ibid., pp. 6 (4:13 "fits neatly as a description of the greatness of the God to be confronted in judgment"), 8f. (9:5-6 "does no violence to the context"). The charge that they may not be "essential" to the prophet's message (ibid., p 24) hardly justifies their deletion; if a later redactor thought the "doxologies" belonged here, could not Amos have thought the same?

[2] Smith, Twelve Prophets, I, p. 204.

[3] Note the catch-word HPK in vss. 7 and 8. The separation of śān^{e}’û in vs. 10 from its probable subject, hahōp^{e}kîm, in vs. 7 finds a precedent in ch. 8 (kol-yôšēb bāh . . . nā'û . . . y^{e}šôṭ^{e}ṭû . . . yimṣā’û [vss. 8, 12]).

[4] Crenshaw, Hymnic Affirmation, p. 10. Presumably the problem extends to the other participles here as well.

[5] There is really no difference in this regard between 5:8-9 and 4:13 where the referent is anticipated in vs. 12 (’^{e}lōhêkā) and explicitly only after the recitation of the participial attributes.

isted "from the earliest days of Israelite history."[1] Secondly, while it is true that the picture of Yahweh in the "doxologies" is not congruent with that obtained from the rest of the book, the two are complementary and consistent.[2] Amos' preaching focuses upon Yahweh's dealings with the nations; he will "punish" them all for their misdeeds. This emphasis presupposes an all-powerful and universalistic deity capable of carrying out such threats, precisely the deity depicted in the "doxologies."[3] Furthermore, the cosmic dimensions which Yahweh assumes in the "doxologies" reverberate throughout the rest of the book.[4]

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[1] Crenshaw, Hymnic Affirmation, pp. 93ff.

[2] According to A. S. Kapelrud, "there are no real differences" between the two; "Yahweh is painted as overwhelmingly great, as the one who has power over all the earth and under the earth, who leads nature and history, who fixes the stars and destines the fate of nations" (Central Ideas in Amos [Oslo: Oslo University Press, 1961], p. 39).

[3] Cf., e.g., W. R. Smith, The Prophets and their Place in History (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1882), pp. 398f.; J. Marsh, Amos and Micah, Torch Bible Commentaries (London: SCM, 1959), pp. 51f.; E. Hammershaimb, The Book of Amos: A Commentary, trans. by J. Sturdy (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), p. 74. Note T. H. Robinson's suggestion that the hymn was composed by Amos himself, but was inserted into the book by a redactor (T. H. Robinson and F. Horst, Die Zwölf kleinen Propheten, 3d ed., HAT, XIV [Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1964], 87).

[4] According to 9:2f., Yahweh's power encompasses heaven, Sheol, the rugged mountain-tops, and the depths of the sea. For further discussion of this point, see Chapter V.C below.

3. The stylistic and philological argument is also unconvincing. The claim that participial constructions such as are found in the "doxologies" are uncharacteristic of Amos' style[1] is moot if these passages have an independent hymnic origin. The phrase *YHWH (ʼ^{e}lōhê) ṣ^{e}bāʼôt* cannot be considered a late titulary.[2] Crenshaw would see the addition of *š^{e}mô*, as in the "doxologies," as a specifically exilic adaptation of the older epithet for polemical purposes against the Assyrio-Babylonian deities then rivaling Yahweh in attraction;[3] but to do so he must arbitrarily delete at least *š^{e}mô* from Amos 5:27,[4] a serious defect in view of

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[1] E.g., Hyatt, "Amos," p. 621; Crenshaw, *Hymnic Affirmation*, p 12. This claim seems quite unjustified, however, in view of Amos' rather frequent use of participial constructions (e.g., 3:10, 12; 4:1; 5:7, 10, 18; 6:1, 3, 4ff., 13; 7:14; 8:4; 9:10, 13).

[2] Cf. B. N. Wambacq, *L'Epithète divine Jahvé S^{e}baʼôt* (Desclée: De Brouwer, 1947); J. P. Ross, "Jahweh Ṣ^{e}bāʼôt in Samuel and Psalms," *VT*, XVII (1967), 76-92; Crenshaw, *Hymnic Affirmation*, pp. 15ff.

[3] See J. L. Crenshaw, "*YHWH S^{e}bāʼôt Š^{e}mô*: A Form-Critical Analysis," *ZAW*, LXXXI (1969), 156-175, and *idem*, *Hymnic Affirmation*, ch. 3 (of which the article is a revision).

[4] Crenshaw, "*YHWH Ṣ^{e}bāʼôt Š^{e}mô*," pp. 162f.; *idem*, *Hymnic Affirmation*, pp. 75ff. *Š^{e}mô* has the support of the LXX and the Targum, making its deletion shaky on text-critical grounds. To claim it is a gloss because the other examples of the refrain *YHWH (ʼ^{e}lōhê ṣ^{e}bāʼôt) š^{e}mô* in Amos are late additions is, of course, to argue in a circle. Crenshaw's position also requires that *YHWH š^{e}mô* in the "Song of the Sea" (Ex. 15:3) is a late gloss ("*YHWH Ṣ^{e}bāʼôt Š^{e}mô*," p. 163; *Hymnic Affirmation*, pp. 87f.), but this is at least debatable; cf. Mays, *Amos*, p. 83, who also draws attention to Ps. 68:4 in this connection.

the context of this passage.[1] Regarding the philological similarities between the "doxologies" and late literature, the affinity with Job may be due to a common heritage rather than their chronological proximity.[2] The most persuasive piece of philological evidence is the use of BR' in 4:13, but from which Crenshaw admits "little can be concluded."[3]

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[1] I.e., the reference to the worship of (presumably) Assyrian deities in Amos' time (vs. 26; cf. 8:14). Needless to say, a polemical defense of Yahweh against rival deities, foreign and domestic alike (and if we adopt a Jerusalem bias the Yahweh worshipped at Bethel belongs to the first of these categories), cannot be confined to an exilic or post-exilic setting. Thus, e.g., H. W. Wolff sees the "doxologies" as entering the Amos corpus in the period of Josiah as reflections of Josiah's actions against the syncretistic cult at Bethel (Dodekapropheton II: Joel und Amos, BK, XIV, pt. 2 [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins, 1969], 135ff., 257).

[2] Several commentators have drawn attention to the influence of wisdom upon Amos' preaching; the affinity between the "doxologies" and Job (especially 5:8ff. and 9:5ff.) thus should not arouse suspicion. Crenshaw depreciates the role of wisdom in the genuine Amos material, but suggests that "the language of Amos was influenced by the wisdom tradition sufficiently to encourage later redactors among the sages to insert portions of a hymn to Yahweh as Creator" ("The Influence of the Wise upon Amos," ZAW, LXXIX [1967], 49). This seems to ignore the obvious, i.e., that these same influences may have "encouraged" Amos to incorporate the hymn himself. More important is Crenshaw's observation that Amos' preaching, the "doxologies," and Job all reflect theophanic language and themes (see especially "Amos and the Theophanic Tradition," ZAW, LXXX [1968], 203-215); this allows him to posit "the theophanic tradition as a bridge between Amos and wisdom, especially Job" (ibid., p. 214). There can be no doubt that theophany as a cultic concept is not a late development in Israelite religious thought. See further Chapter V.C below.

[3] Crenshaw, Hymnic Affirmation, p. 24. Cf. P. Humbert, "Emploi et Portée du Verbe bârâ (créer) dans l'Ancien Testament," Theologis-

4. The "doxology" in the LXX version of Hos. 13:4 creates text- and composition-critical problems for the study of that book, but has no independent value for determining the status of the "doxologies" in Amos.

Crenshaw shows considerable circumspection on this issue. He acknowledges the problems in assigning dates to biblical literature on strictly internal criteria[1] and, while preferring to see the "doxologies" as post-exilic insertions, he allows for the possibility that Amos may have incorporated this material himself.[2] The preceding observations have suggested that there are insufficient grounds for relegating the "doxologies" to late redactional activity. It seems probable, therefore, that 4:13[3] is a fragment of an ancient

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che Zeitschrift, III (1947), 401-422, and Crenshaw's discussion in Hymnic Affirmation, pp. 12ff., 61ff. See also K.-H. Bernhart's contributions to the article "bārā'," in Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament, ed. by G. J. Botterweck et al., trans. by J. T. Willis, II (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 1975), 242-249. Note the occurrence of BR' in Num. 16:30 and Ps. 89:13, 48; cf. H. E. Hanson, "Num. XVI and the Meaning of bārā'," VT, XXII (1972), 353-359, who argues that "the primary meaning" of the word is "to form by cutting."

[1] Crenshaw, Hymnic Affirmation, pp. 154f.

[2] Ibid., pp. 143f. note 6. As this exculpatory footnote indicates, his larger thesis concerning the function of these and similar passages as "doxologies of judgment" does not hinge upon their late date.

[3] Note that, according to Crenshaw, "there is nothing in [4:13] that Amos could not have taught" (ibid., p. 122).

hymn, current in the mid-8th century, which Amos has used to give special emphasis to his message.[1]

III.R. *Micah 1:3*

kî-hinnēh YHWH yōṣē' mimm^{e}qômô, w^{e}yārad w^{e}dārak 'al-bom^{o}tê[2]-'āreṣ

The version of this passage found at Qumran (1QpMic), as pieced together by J. T. Milik, reads *[ky hn]h Y[HWH yṣ' m]mqwmw [wyrd 'l bm]wty h'r[ṣ]*.[3] According to Milik, "l'omission de *wdrk*, que semble exiger le calcul d'espace, a le support de la recension lucanique en LXX," and "l'article en *hʼrṣ* correspondrait à *tēs gēs* de LXX."[1] It is doubtful, however, that these variants represent a text superior to the MT.

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[1] Cf., e.g., Smith, *Prophets*, pp. 398f.; L. B. Paton, "Did Amos Approve the Calf-Worship at Bethel?," *JBL*, XIII (1894), 84ff.; Wambacq, *Epithète divine Jahvé S^{e}ba'ôt*, pp. 192ff.; W. S. McCullough, "Some Suggestions about Amos," *JBL*, LXXII (1953), 248; J. D. W. Watts, *Vision and Prophecy in Amos* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958), ch. 3 (= *JNES*, XV [1956], 33-39); R. Vuilleumier-Bessard, *La Tradition cultuelle d'Israël dans la Prophétie d'Amos et d'Osée*, Cahiers Théologiques, XLV (Neuchatel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1960), 89f.; Kapelrud, *Central Ideas in Amos*, pp. 38f.; S. Amsler, *Amos*, CAT, XIa (Neuchatel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1965), 163, 200; W. Brueggeman, "Amos IV.4-13 and Israel's Covenant Worship," *VT*, XV (1965), 10ff.; G. Farr, "The Language of Amos, Popular or Cultic?," *VT*, XVI (1966), 322; J. M. Ward, *Amos and Isaiah* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1969), pp. 112ff.; Hammershaimb, *Amos*, p. 74; M. O'R. Boyle, "The Covenant Lawsuit of the Prophet Amos: III.1-IV.13," *VT*, XXI (1971), 360; H. McKeating, *The Books of Amos, Hosea, and Micah*, Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 37f.

[2] *Sic*.

[3] D. Barthelemy and J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 77. On the spelling of BMH in this text, see Chapter VII below.

The anarthrous *bom^{o}tê-ʼāreṣ* is quite regular and idiomatic (Deut. 32:13; Isa. 58:14; Amos 4:13; cf. Isa. 14:14 and Job 9:8), while the definite article in the LXX could be no more than the natural consequence of translation (cf. RSV, etc.);[2] H. M. Orlinsky seems justified, therefore, in dismissing 1QpMic's *hʼrṣ* as "a secondary, worthless, prosaic variant" of *ʼrṣ*.[3] As for the verbs, the Greek evidence is unstable; some recensions reflect only YRD, some only DRK, and still others reflect both,[4] a situation more suggestive of a problem of transmission than or *Vorlage*.[1] Millar Burrows sees the MT as a conflation of two variant readings, in which case 1QpMic may indicate which is original.[2] This is possible, but the question is moot because *no* verb is actually attested in this document. In supplying *wyrd* Milik has simply followed the lead of earlier critics who chose to delete the MT's *w^{e}dārak* on the basis of one strand of the Greek evidence.[3] The choice is arbitrary. If the MT is indeed a conflated text, *w^{e}dōrēk*

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[1] *Ibid*. Cf. also J. T. Milik, "Fragments d'un Midrash de Michée dans les Manuscrits de Qumran," *RB*, LIX (1952), 413f.

[2] M. Collin rightly depreciates the LXX correspondence, but defends the 1QpMic reading on the principle of *lectio difficilor* ("Recherches sur l'Histoire textuelle du Prophète Michée," *VT*, XXI [1971], 289, 286). Note that the Samaritan Pentateuch's *bmty hʼrṣ* for MT *bmwty ʼrṣ* in Deut. 32:13.

[3] H. M. Orlinsky, "Notes on the Present State of the Textual Criticism of the Judean Biblical Cave Scrolls," *A Stubborn Faith: Papers on Old Testament and Related Subjects Presented to Honor William Andrew Irwin*, ed. by E. C. Hobbs (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1956), p. 123. Cf. also *idem*, "The Textual Criticism of the Old Testament," *The Bible and the Ancient Near East*, ed. by G. E. Wright, Anchor Books edition (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1965), pp. 148f.

[4] The fragmentary Gk. recension from Qumran also seems to have

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two verbs (*katabēsetai kai [epibēsetai?]*; see D. Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d'Aquilla*, SVT, X [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963], 171), as does the Murabba'at 88 Hebr. version (*[wyr]d wdrk 'l [---] 'rṣ*; see P. Benoit *et al*., *Les Grottes de Murabba'ât*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, II, pt. 1 [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961], 192). Cf. also Targ.

[1] Orlinsky suggests inner-Greek homoioteleuton ("Notes on the Present State of Textual Criticism," pp. 123, 129f. note 29). Cf. also J. Taylor, *The Massoretic Text and the Ancient Versions of the Book of Micah* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1890), p. 5; Collin, "Recherches," p. 285.

[2] Burrows, *More Light*, pp. 155ff.

[3] E.g., J. M. P. Smith, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Micah, Zephaniah and Nahum*, ICC, XXVI, pt. 1 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), 34; H. Guthe, "Der Prophet Micha," *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, 4th ed., ed. by E. Kautzsch and A. Bertholet, II (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1923), 54; G. W. Wade, *The Books of the Prophets Micah, Obadiah, Joel, and Jonah*, Westminster Commentaries, XXIX, XXXI, XXXIII (London: Methuen & Co., 1925), 4. More recently, cf., e.g., G. Fohrer, "Micha 1," *Das ferne und nahe Wort: Festschrift Leonhard Rost*, BZAW, CV (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1967), 70; R. Vuilleumier[-Bessard], *Michee*, CAT, XIb, pt. 1 (Neuchatel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1971), 14, 16 note 1.

'al-bom^{o}tê-’āreṣ in Amos 4:13 suggests that the more likely candidate for deletion would be *w^{e}yārad*.[1] The Mican expansion of this shorter formula may be poetic license (note the use of YRD in vs. 12b), or the Amos version may be an abbreviation.

A number of commentators have argued that (at least) vss. 2-4 were added to the Micah corpus by a later redactor.[2] Perhaps the most extreme view is that of Haupt who connects the pericope with the destruction of Samaria by John Hycranus (c. 107).[3] The arguments run somewhat parallel to those used to deny the authenticity of the Amos "doxologies," and the evidence is no more compelling.[1]

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[1] E.g., P. Haupt, "The Book of Micah," *AJSL*, XXVII (1910-1911), 12; Sellin, *Zwölfprophetenbuch*, I, 309; H. Donner, *Israel unter den Völkern*, SVT, XI (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964), 94; V. Fritz, "Das Wort gegen Samaria Mi. 1:2-7," *ZAW*, LXXXVI (1974), 319 note 24, 323. B. Duhm claims that one of the verbs must be deleted to improve the meter of the verse ("Anmerkungen zu den Zwölf Propheten," *ZAW*, XXXI [1911], 82). Many commentators retain both verbs: e.g., Smith, *Twelve Prophets*, I, 380; Marti, *Dodekapropheton*, p. 266; Robinson and Horst, *Zwölf kleinen Propheten*, p. 130; W. Rudolph, *Micha, Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja*, KAT, XIII, pt. 3 (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1975), 32; J. L. Mays, *Micah: A Commentary*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976), p. 43.

[2] Cf., e.g., B. Stade, "Streiflichter auf die Entstehung der jetzigen Gestalt der alttestamentlichen Prophetenschriften," *ZAW*, XXIII (1903), 163; Marti, *Dodekapropheton*, pp. 265ff.; R. E. Wolfe, "The Book of Micah: Introduction and Exegesis," *Interpreter's Bible*, ed. by G. A. Buttrick *et al*., VI (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956), 902; Marsh, *Amos and Micah*, p. 87; Fritz, "Wort gegen Samaria," pp. 316-331.

[3] Haupt, "Book of Micah," pp. 12, 57f.; *idem*, "Micah's Capucinade," *JBL*, XXIX (1910), 94f.

III.S. *Micah 1:5*

b^{e}peša' ya'^{a}qōb kol-zō't ûb^{e}ḥaṭṭô't bêt yiśrā'ēl,
mî-peša' ya'^{a}qōb h^{a}lô' šōmrôn ûmî bāmôt y^{e}hûdâ
h^{a}lô' y^{e}rûšālaim

The presence of *bāmôt* in this passage is very suspect. The parallelism, to judge from vs. 5a, should be *peša'* : *ḥaṭṭā't*. Both words occur frequently in Micah, thrice in formal parallel (1:5a; 3:8; 6:7). This is the reading reflected in the LXX and the Targum,[2] and has been adopted by the great majority of commentators.[3] The MT is supported by the Vulgate and, more importantly, by 1QpMic.

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[1] For discussion of this point, see, e.g., Smith, *Micah, Zephaniah and Nahum*, pp. 33f.; W. C. Graham, "Some Suggestions toward the Interpretation of Micah 1:10-16," *AJSL*, XLVII (1930-1931), 251ff.; Donner, *Israel*, pp. 95ff.; Fohrer, "Micha 1," pp. 71ff.; J. T. Willis, "Some Suggestions on the Interpretation of Micah I.2," *VT*, XVIII (1968), 372ff.; *idem*, "The Structure of the Book of Micah," *SEÅ*, XXXIV (1969), 32; Rudolph, *Micha, Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja*, pp. 38ff.

[2] See also Kennicott, *Vetus Testamentum*, II, 274.

[3] So, e.g., G. A. Smith, Marti, Duhm, J. M. P. Smith, Ehrlich, Guthe, Wade, Sellin, Graham, Wolfe, Robinson and Horst, Fohrer, McKeating, Fritz. See also T. K. Cheyne, *Micah*, Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges, XXXIV (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1887) 18f.; J. Jeremias, "Die Deutung der Gerichtsworte Michas in der Exilzeit," *ZAW*, LXXXIII (1971), 323 note 13.

We are thus faced with two conflicting textual traditions of comparable evidential merit.[1]

The content of Micah's preaching favors the ḥaṭṭā't reading. Judah's "sin," for Micah, is specified as social abuse (the perversion of justice by the powerful [2:1f., 8f.; 3:1ff., 9ff.], the venality of the religious establishment [3:5, 11]) and theological hubris (the belief in Yahweh's unconditional blessing and protection [2:6f.; 3:11]), not cultic irregularities or heterodoxy.[2] Only in 1:5b are the bamoth criticized or, indeed, even mentioned.[3]

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[1] Consistent with the book as a whole; see especially Collin, "Recherches," pp. 281-297.

[2] Vaughan defends the MT on the grounds that "the whole passage is decrying the cultic impurity of Israel and Judah" (Meaning, p. 61 note 44; cf. pp. 14f.), but this interpretation is not really supported by the text. Except for this verse, no specific "sins" are mentioned until 2:1-11, and these are not examples of "cultic impurity." Vaughan may have reference to 1:7, but, as Willis has rightly seen, "the primary purpose of this verse is to announce the nature of the punishment which Yahweh will bring upon [Samaria], and not to give the reasons for it" ("Structure," p. 33 note 56). This is also is true of 5:9-14 which speaks of Jerusalem's punishment in much the same way (contra J. T. Willis, "The Authenticity and Meaning of Micah 5:9-14," ZAW, LXXXI [1969], 365ff.). Saying that a cultic object will be destroyed or that a cultic practice is being abused is not to say that that object or practice per se is necessarily worthless or a "sin."

[3] Pace Willis who says of 5:9-14 that "even though the [bamoth] are not specifically mentioned here, they are certainly intended, because the 'graven images,' 'pillars,' and 'Asherim' are cult objects connected with [them]" ("Authenticity and Meaning of Micah 5:9-14," p. 366 note 59). On 3:12b, see below.

It is probable, therefore, that bāmôt is a marginal gloss, intended to explain the "sin" from a later point of view, which ultimately displaced the original text.[1]

The two halves of this verse are stylistically interrelated, so that "Judah" in vs. 5bβ corresponds to "the House of Israel" in vs. 5aβ. It is commonly thought that "Jacob" and "the House of Israel" in vs. 5a are synonymous references to the Northern Kingdom. Because vs. 5bβ takes "the House of Israel" as a reference to the Southern Kingdom, this half-line is often considered a secondary addition of perhaps exilic date.[2] This argument, while appealing,[3] is weakened by the fluidity with which these names are used in the Micah corpus as a whole. Thus, e.g., the "Jacob" : "the House of Israel" couplet recurs in 3:1 (cf. also vs. 9) where the Southern Kingdom is clearly meant (cf. vs. 10).[1] This fluidity reflects the historical situation of Micah's time. With the annihilation of the Northern Kingdom by the Assyrians, the Southern Kingdom alone had become "Israel" in geo-political as well as ideological terms; Micah applies the traditional national nomenclature accordingly.[2] A sinister didactic implication of this usage is established in 1:6ff. Just as Yahweh had punished the Kingdom of Israel for its "sins," the Kingdom of Judah can expect the same treatment as the invader moves down into its territory (cf. vss. 9, 12); the southern "Israel" will suffer the same fate as the northern "Israel," for it is no better than its defunct namesake.[3] Vs.

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[1] See especially Allen, "More Cuckoos," p. 71; cf. Taylor, Massoretic Text, pp. 8f. Rudolph disputes this explanation because of the orthographic dissimilarity of the two words; he proposes that bāmôt is a corruption of b^{e}môt or k^{e}môt, translating "und wer ist geradezu der Tod Judas?" (Micha, Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja, p. 33). The change is entirely unsubstantiated, however, and does not materially improve the sense of the passage. Pace Rudolph, ḥṭ't and bmwt are not so orthographically distant that a scribe could not have mistakenly seen the latter as an annotational correction.

[2] Cf. especially Jeremias, "Deutung der Gerichtsworte Michas," pp. 331f. et passim. See further, e.g., Donner, Israel, pp. 96f.; Fritz, "Wort gegen Samaria," p. 324; Mays, Micah, p. 45. Willis regards the authorship of the passage as "debatable" ("Structure," p. 21).

[3] If the passage is a secondary addition, bāmôt (or perhaps even *bāmat) could well be authentic; this glossator too may have equated the "sin" with the bamoth (cf. most recently Mays, Micah, p. 45).

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[1] For a survey of the terminological usage, cf. G. A. Danell, Studies in the Name Israel in the Old Testament (Uppsala: Appelberg, 1946), pp. 189ff.

[2] The book of Isaiah (chs. 1-39) shows evidence of a similar adaptation; cf. Danell, Studies in the Name Israel, pp. 155ff. Strict consistency in this area should not be expected, however, since the southerners did not assimilate the full impact of the fall of the Northern Kingdom nor adjust to it in thought and speech all at once or to the same degree; a measure of inconsistency must be attributed to *ad hoc* attitudinal transition which undoubtedly was common at the time.

[3] More positive implications (e.g., Judah is the remnant of "Israel" which will reassert the idealized Davidic "Israel") have been recognized in this use of nomenclature and cannot be discounted.

5b aptly introduces this theme by paralleling the capital cities and traditional national designations of the two kingdoms.[1] "Judah" in vs. 5bβ is thus both appropriate[2] and consistent with its spare usage elsewhere in the book.[3]

III.T. Micah 3:12b (= Jer. 26:18bβ)

wîrûšālaim 'îyîn tih^{e}yeh w^{e}har habbayit l^{e}bāmôt yā'ar

The concluding phrase in this passage is exegetically difficult, as is evident from its exceptional treatment by the ancient translators before Jerome. Most modern commentators follow Jerome and give BMH a topographical sense, interpreting the prophet's message to be that the Temple-mount will be turned into "wooded heights"

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[1] Assuming that "Jacob" and "the House of Israel" in vs. 5a both refer to the Northern Kingdom. Should the latter have been intended as a reference to the Southern Kingdom (as in 3:1, 9), vs. 5a would introduce the theme and all arguments against the originality of vs. 5bβ would become moot. This possibility cannot be enhanced, however, by reading "Judah" in place of "Israel" in vs. 5aβ as some commentators (e.g., J. M. P. Smith, Fohrer) have done.

[2] Against Rudolph's claim that vs. 5bβ must be secondary because it spoils the "Überraschungsmoment" of vss. 8f. (Micha, Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja, p. 38; cf. p. 39). Cf. Fohrer, "Micha 1," p. 71.

[3] Micah 1:1, 9; 5:1. It would appear that "Judah" has been used only when it was necessary to clearly distinguish the Southern Kingdom (politically or, as is perhaps the case in 5:1, territorially) from the Northern Kingdom.

(cf. 1 Macc. 4:38). The pl. construct form used here suggests, however, that BMH should carry its technical "cultic" sense;[1] moreover, the phrase should properly be in the singular to agree with *har*.[2] A more serious objection to the usual interpretation is raised by Delbert R. Hillers: "To say that a place will become 'wooded heights' . . . is the exact opposite of the ordinary curse or prophetic threat; usually the prophecy is that a place will become a waste where nothing grows, or that noxious weeds, thorns, etc., will grow over it."[3]

Hiller's solution to the problem is very attractive. He argues that the MT's *bmwt* is the phonetic spelling of the pl. construct of *b^{e}hēmâ*, "animal, beast."[4] The otherwise unexampled phrase in Micah 3:12 would thus find a precedent in 5:7: k^{e}'aryeh b^{e}bah^{a}môt yā'ar; "like a lion among the beasts of the forest." Hillers translates: "And Jerusalem shall be heaps of ruins, and the temple-hill (shall belong) to the beasts of the forest."[1] He compares this imagery to Jer. 9:10a ("I will make Jerusalem a heap, a lair of jackals"),[2] to which may be added, e.g., Lam. 5:18 ("[we mourn] on account of Mt. Zion which is desolate; foxes roam through it").[3]

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[1] Cheyne asks whether "perhaps the writer means to suggest that the temple shall be treated no better than if it were a high-place" (*Micah*, p. 34). Cf. Duhm, "Anmerkungen," p. 87; McKeating, *Amos, Hosea, and Micah*, p. 157. Sellin tries to have it both ways: "eine Waldhügelheiligtum" (*Zwölfprophetenbuch*, I, 326).

[2] The sing. reading is adopted by, e.g., Marti, Duhm, Wade, Sellin, Robinson and Horst, Vuilleumier[-Bessard]. Cf. also Eissfeldt, *Introduction*, p. 408.

[3] D. R. Hillers, *Treaty-Curses and the Old Testament Prophets*, Biblica at Orientalia, XVI (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1964), 53f.

[4] I.e., **bahimôt* > **bahmôt* > *bāmôt*, the usual construct form, *bah^{a}môt*, being historical spelling (*ibid*., p. 54). Hiller's position has been adopted by Vaughan, *Meaning*, pp. 20f. and accompanying notes. Cf. also Ehrlich, *Randglossen*, V, 280; M. Moreshet, "'*whr hbjt lbmwt j'r*' (Mi. 3:12 and Jer. 26:18)," *Bet Miqra'*, XII (1966-1967), 123-

III.U. Hab. 3:19a

The date of Hab. 3 and its connection with the rest of the book have been the subjects of considerable controversy over the years.[4] Internal linguistic and stylistic factors point to a late pre-exilic date for the final composition, although portions of it may be much earlier.[5] No substantial arguments have been ad-

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126; Rudolph, Micha, Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja, pp. 67, 68 (cf. also idem, Jeremia, p. 144).

[1] Hillers, Treaty-Curses, p. 53.

[2] Ibid., p. 54, noting also Jer. 51:37.

[3] Cf. also Zeph. 2:14f.

[4] For a survey of the discussion, see Eissfeldt, Introduction, pp. 416ff. (especially pp. 420f.).

[5] See especially W. F. Albright, "The Psalm of Habakkuk," Studies in Old Testament Prophecy Presented to Professor Theodore H. Robinson, ed. by H. H. Rowley (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1950), pp.

duced against its traditional attribution to "Habakkuk the prophet" (vs. 1),[1] and the three chapters of the book do constitute an intelligible literary unity.[2] It is quite possible, however, that before its incorporation into the book the poem functioned independently in the pre-exilic Temple cultus.[3]

The "secular" BMH occurs in vs. 19a: *YHWH ’^{a}dōnay ḥêlî wayyāśem raglay kā’ayyālôt w^{e}'al-bāmôtay yadrikēnî*. Many commentators prefer to read *bāmôt* on the basis of the LXX and the Vulgate.[4] The

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2ff. The data analyzed by Robertson points to the 11th-10th century (*Linguistic Evidence*, p. 155). The issue is complicated by the likelihood that the poet has incorporated older, traditional material.

[1] Cf., e.g., P. Humbert, *Problèmes du Livre d'Habacuc*, Mémoires de l'Université de Neuchâtel, XVIII (Neuchatel: Secrétariat de l'Université, 1944), especially 247; Albright, "Psalm of Habakkuk," p. 9; Eissfeldt, *Introduction*, p. 421. According to Cross, however, the poem antedates the prophet (*Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, p. 176 note 124); cf. Robertson's findings (see preceding note).

[2] See, e.g., H. J. Eaton, *Obadiah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah*, Torch Bible Commentaries (London: SCM, 1961), pp. 83f.; *idem*, "The Origin and Meaning of Habakkuk 3," *ZAW*, LXXVI (1964), 166f.; W. H. Brownlee, "The Composition of Habakkuk," *Hommages à André Dupont-Sommer* (Paris: Librairie d'Amerique et d'Orient Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1971), especially p. 273.

[3] For discussion of this point, cf. S. Mowinckel, "Zum Psalm Habakuk," *Theologische Zeitschrift*, IX (1953), 1-23; Eaton, *Obadiah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah*, pp. 108ff.; *idem*, "Origin and Meaning of Habakkuk 3," pp. 158ff.

[4] E.g., Ewald, *Commentary on the Prophets*, III, 48; A. B. Davidson, *The Books of Nahum, Habakkuk and Zephaniah*, Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges, XXXV-XXXVII (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896), 94; Marti, *Dodekapropheton*, p. 356; W. H. Ward, *A Cri-*

MT's *y* can be easily explained as dittography, but it is just as likely that its omission in these translations is a haplographical corruption or a simplification of an unusual construction. The content of the passage does not demand the change.[1] Furthermore, the MT has the support of the Targum and, indirectly, of the Barberini Greek version of the passage.[2] In view of the ambivalence of the textual witnesses, it would be prudent to retain the MT's reading on the principle of *lectio difficilor*.[3]

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tical and Exegetical Commentary on Habakkuk, ICC, XXVI, pt. 2 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), 25; Ehrlich, *Randglossen*, V 308; G. W. Wade, *The Book of the Prophet Habakkuk*, Westminster Commentaries, XXXVI (London: Methuen & Co., 1929), 210; Oesterley, *Ancient Hebrew Poems*, p. 181; Humbert, *Problemes du Livre d'Habacuc*, pp. 69, 79 note 31; C.-A. Keller, *Nahoum, Habacuc, Sophonie*, CAT XIb, pt. 2 (Neuchatel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1971), 176; Rudolph, *Micha, Nahum, Habacuc, Zephanja*, p. 239.

[1] See Chapter V.D below. Albright's restoration of *yām* ("and making me tread upon the back of Sea") does suit the context (see "Psalm of Habakkuk," pp. 12f., 18 notes 1' and m'), but has no evidential basis. Similarly, O. Procksch's *bāmôt Y[HWH]* (suggested in the apparatus of *Biblica Hebraica*, 3d ed.).

[2] The expanded Barberini reading--*kai epi tous trachēlous tōn echthrōn mou epibiba me*--is secondary and undoubtedly inspired by Deut. 33:29; see E. M. Good, "The Text and Versions of Habakkuk 3: A Study in Textual History" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1958), pp. 146f., and *idem*, "The Barberini Greek Version of Habakkuk III," *VT*, IX (1959), 19. Cf. also M. L. Margolis, "The Character of the Anonymous Greek Version of Habakkuk, Chapter 3," *AJSL*, XXIV (1907-1908), 79.

[3] See, e.g., the conclusions of Good's text-critical study of the word ("Text and Versions of Habakkuk 3," especially p. 53).

The close similarity between this verse and 2 Sam. 22:34 (= Ps. 18:34) is obvious: *m^{e}sawweh raglay kā'ayyālôt, w^{e}'al bāmōtay ya'^{a}mîdēnî*.[1] As in Hab. 3:19, the integrity of *bāmōtay* has been challenged, with many commentators reading *bāmôt*[2] or otherwise altering the MT.[3] Here too, however, the textual evidence suggests that without sure internal controls to justify emendation the MT should probably be retained unchanged.

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[1] We have adopted the Ps. 18:34 version of the text. 2 Sam. 22:34 differs in its 3rd-person construction *raglayw* (denied by the other textual witnesses and undoubtedly a secondary variant), and in its fully written *bmwty*.

[2] E.g., Budde, *Samuel*, p. 98; Nowack, *Samuelis*, pp. 247f.; Dhorme, *Samuel*, p. 429; R. Kittel, "Das zweite Buch Samuel," *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, 4th ed., ed. by E. Kautzsch and A. Bertholet, I (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1922), 487; A. Bertholet, "Das Buch der Psalmen," *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, 4th ed., ed. by E. Kautzsch and A. Bertholet, II (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1923), 139; M. Buttenwieser, *The Psalms Chronologically Treated with a New Translation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), pp. 455, 465; Oesterley, *Ancient Hebrew Poems*, p. 66; *idem*, *The Psalms* (London: SPCK, 1939), I, 163f.; E. A. Leslie, *The Psalms* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1949), p. 262; Kissane, *Psalms*, I, 81; A. Weiser, *The Psalms: A Commentary*, trans. by H. Hartwell, OTL (London: SCM, 1962), p. 184; Hertzberg, *I-II Samuel*, p. 390. Cf. also C. A. Briggs and E. G. Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, I, ICC, XVI (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), 147; Delitzsch, *Lese- und Schreibfehler*, p. 16; Leimbach, *Samuel*, p. 214; Kraus, *Psalmen*, p. 137.

[3] On the strength of his emendation of Hab. 3:19 (see p. 175 note 1 above), Albright inserts *yām* here as well ("Psalm of Habakkuk," p. 18 note 1'). Cross and Freedman follow Albright, but restore *mōt* (lost through haplography) and read "who makes me stand upon the back of Death" (*Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry*, pp. 136, 152f. note 78 [= *JBL*, LXXII (1953), 30 and note 78]); this has been adopted by Stuart, *Studies in Early Hebrew Meter*, pp. 177, 185 note 37. For criticism, see Moran, "Some Remarks on the Song of Moses," p. 327 note 1, and D. W. Goodwin, *Text-Restoration Methods in Contemporary USA Biblical Scholarship*, Pubblicazioni del Seminario di Semitistica a Cura di Giovanni Garbini, V (Naples: Istituto Orientali di Napoli,

III.V. *Job 9:8a*

w^{e}dôrēk 'al-bom^{o}tê[1] yām

A few manuscripts have *'āb* in place of *yām*, and some commentators have adopted this reading.[2] The change is unmerited; *'āb* is most likely a late and text-critically worthless corruption inspired by Isa. 14:14 where *bom^{o}tê-'āb* occurs in a wholly different context.[3]

III.W. *Job 27:15a*

ś^{e}rîdāyw[4] bammāwet yiqqāberû

Albright revocalizes *bammāwet* as *bāmôt* to create a second

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1969), 107f. Cross and Freedman themselves have had second-thoughts ("Some Observations on Early Hebrew," *Biblica*, LIII [1972], 419).

[1] *Qere*.

[2] Most recently, G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob*, KAT, XVI (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1963), 197, 198, 205f.

[3] Furthermore, it is difficult to imagine how a corruption to *yām* might have arisen. Most commentators follow the MT here; see the references cited in Chapter V.B below.

[4] *Qere*.

proof-text for his contention that bamoth were funerary installations, translating "his survivors shall be buried in pagan graves."[1] His sole justification for this reading, however, is his "corrected" version of Isa. 53:9a,[2] the dubious merit of which has been pointed out above. There is no compelling reason to abandon the Massoretic vocalization; the passage yields satisfactory sense without introducing BMH.[3]

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[1] Albright, "High Place," pp. 246f. He presupposes the omission of B before bāmôt for phonetic reasons. Cf. also M. H. Pope, Job, 3d ed., AB, XV (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1973), 192; Vaughan, Meaning, pp. 18f., 64 note 71.

[2] Specifically the close association of BMH and QBR.

[3] Cf., e.g., S. R. Driver and G. B. Gray, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Job, I, ICC, XV (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921), 230; E. J. Kissane, The Book of Job (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1939), p. 167; N. H. Tur-Sinai, The Book of Job (Jerusalem: Kiryath Sepher, 1957), p. 391; Fohrer, Hiob, pp. 386, 388; E. Dhorme, A Commentary on the Book of Job, trans. by H. Knight (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1967), p. 394; H. H. Rowley, Job, Century Bible (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1970), p. 224; N. C. Habel, The Book of Job, Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 142f.

CHAPTER IV

COGNATE EVIDENCE FOR THE MEANING OF BMH

In sketching the history of BMH interpretation it was pointed out that the word's apparent cognates in Ugaritic and Akkadian have been particularly influential in solidifying the prevailing scholarly consensus.[1] A number of scholars have suggested that the Greek word *bōmos* also is related to BMH and may thus shed some light on its meaning. This chapter will examine these words to establish their probable semantic content and, especially in the case of *bōmos*, their relevance.

IV.A. *Ugaritic 'bmt'*[2]

The word *bmt* occurs a total of nine times in the extant Ugaritic corpus.[3] It is without doubt predominantly, if not exclusively, an anatomical term, but its exact signification is somewhat uncertain. "Back (of the body)," first proposed by Albright, has become the customary translation.[1] This has been disputed by Moshe Held who maintains that the word properly refers to "the area of the waist and ribs all around the body."[2] Vaughan agrees that "back" is too narrow a definition and concludes that "something akin to the English word 'flank' would seem to cover all the human and animal contexts."[3] To resolve this disagreement we must examine each of these passages.

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[1] See pp. 2ff. above.

[2] Cf. Whitaker, *Concordance*, p. 108.

[3] Whitaker (*ibid*.) restores *bmt* in 7.1(131).3 on the basis of 3(ʾnt).2.12 (with, e.g., U. Cassuto, *The Goddess Anath*, trans. by I. Abrahams [Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1971], pp. 179f.), but there is hardly enough text preserved on this tablet to inspire much confidence in this or any reconstruction. Whitaker also includes 12(75).2.39: *bmtnm . yšḫn . (---)*. Parsing *bmtnm* as *b* + *mtnm* (du.), however, the phrase should be rendered "in (his)

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loins he is fever-ridden": so, e.g., H. L. Ginsberg, "Ba'lu and his Brethren," JPOS, XVI (1936), 147; UT, p. 53; Dahood, Psalms I, pp. 235, 267; A. S. Kapelrud, "Baal and the Devourers," Ugaritica VI, Mission de Ras Shamra, XVII (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1969), 327; J. Gray, "Ba'al's Atonement," UF, III (1971), 65.

[1] E.g., Aistleitner, Wörterbuch, p. 50; UT, p. 373; Gray, Legacy, p. 259; Koehler and Baumgartner, Lexicon, p. 130.

[2] M. Held, "Studies in Comparative Semitic Lexicography," Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday, ed. by H. G. Güterbock and T. Jacobsen, Assyriological Studies, XVI (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 406. Cf. also J. C. de Moor, The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu according to the Version of Ilimilku, AOAT, XVI (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon & Bercker Kevelaer, 1971), 91, 309; A. F. Rainey, "Observations on Ugaritic Grammar," UF, III (1971), 170.

[3] Vaughan, Meaning, p. 6; cf. p. 23 (= "the rib cage"). Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary (Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam Co., 1963), defines "flank" as "the fleshy part of the side between the ribs and the hip . . . the side of a quadruped . . . a cut of meat from this part of an animal" (p. 317).

Albright proposed "back" on the basis of 4(51).4.14-15.[1] The goddess Asherah is about to set out on a journey. After equipping the beast with saddle and harness apparatus at her instruction (ll. 2ff.),[2] her lacky *yštn . ảṯrt . lbmt . 'r . lysmsmt . bmt . pḥl*, "places Asherah upon (the) *bmt* of (the) donkey, upon (the) comely *bmt* of (the) jackass."[3] That this is a conventional literary formula is evident from its verbatum recurrence in 19(1 Aqht).2.59-60.[4] In these passages *bmt* obviously refers to that portion of the animal where a rider would normally sit, i.e., between the withers and the croup on the dorsal plane of the torso.

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[1] See p. 5 note 1 above.

[2] Cf. M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, "'Ephraim is a Well-Trained Heifer' and Ugaritic *mdl*," *Biblica*, XLI (1960), 64-66.

[3] Cf., e.g., U. Cassuto, "Asherah's Journey in the Ugaritic Texts (II AB iv 1-18)," *Biblical and Oriental Studies*, trans. by I. Abrahams, II (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1975 [first published in 1950]), 178-187; G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, Old Testament Studies, III (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1956), 95; J. B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3d. ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 133 (hereinafter cited as *ANET*); Vaughan, *Meaning*, p. 5. The idiom ŠTY + L, "to place upon," is regular. Cf. 1 Kgs. 13:29.

[4] Cf., e.g., Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, p. 61; Gray, *Legacy*, pp. 253f.; *ANET*, p. 153. The only variation is the masc. *ysmsm*, presumably because the rider here is a man; see Cassuto, *Anath*, p. 44 (cf. also pp. 33, 40f.), and *idem*, "Asherah's Journey," p. 186. For *ysmsm/t . bmt*, cf. Hos. 10:11.

Text 1128 is an inventory of foodstuffs and other items. Various cuts of meat are listed, including *ṣl't . ảlp . mrỉ . 'šr . bmt . ảlp . mrỉ*, "ribs of a fat ox, 10 *bmt* of fat oxen" (11. 16-17). Since we are dealing with the anatomy of a quadruped, the meaning of *bmt* here is probably not too distant from the first two examples. Vaughan plausibly suggests that the animal's "carcass" is meant,[1] and the meatiest part of a beef carcass lies above its central axis.

The references to human anatomy are more difficult to assess. In the description of El's reaction to the news of Baal's death (5[67].6.11ff.) the god is said to cover himself with ashes, scrape off his beard,[2] and lacerate various parts of his body: *yṯlṯ . qn . ḏr'h . yḥrṯ . kgn . ảplb . k'mq . yṯlṯ . bmt*; "thrice he plowed his collar bones; he furrowed (his) chest like a garden; thrice he plowed (his) *bmt* like a valley" (11. 20-22).[3] This too is a stereotyped formula, recurring in 6(62).1.3-5.[1] Held and Vaughan see *bmt* in synonymous parallel with *åplb* (lit. "nose [> front] of the heart") and thus a reference to another ventral portion of the body.[2] Such an interpretation is not demanded by the context, however.[3] Since self-laceration, a familiar mourning practice in the Near East, is not confined to any particular anatomical area,[4] the three actions here paralleled should perhaps be understood *pars pro toto* for the indiscriminate slashing of the entire upper torso, both front and back.[5]

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[1] Vaughan, *Meaning*, p. 5; cf. p. 58 note 17.

[2] Cf. de Moor, *Seasonal Pattern*, p. 193.

[3] For the translation, see *ibid*., pp. 190, 194. Cf. also, e.g., Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, p. 109; Gray, *Legacy*, pp. 62, 268; *ANET*, p. 139. The alternative offerred by U. Cassuto, "The Death of Baal (Tablet I *AB of the Ras Shamra Texts)," *Biblical and Oriental Studies*, trans. by I. Abrahams, II (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1975 [first published in 1941]), 163ff., is unacceptable.

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[1] Cf., e.g., Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, p. 109; A. S. Kapelrud, *The Violent Goddess: Anat in the Ras Shamra Texts* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1969), p. 85. Note that the shaving is included in the formula; cf. de Moor, *Seasonal Pattern*, p. 193.

[2] Held, "Studies," p. 406; Vaughan, *Meaning*, p. 4. Similarly, Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, p. 109 (he/she "harrowed his/her belly like a vale").

[3] De Moor's objection that to scrape his back "would require extraordinary gymnastic skill of the old man" (*Seasonal Pattern*, p. 194) is mooted by the fact that we are dealing with a stock formula which need not take into account the age or infirmities of the characters to whom it is applied. The act itself is not physically impossible, and the limber Anat certainly would have been able to execute it (6[62].1.3-5).

[4] Cf. the various examples cited by de Moor, *Seasonal Pattern*, pp. 193f.

[5] *Pace* de Moor (*Seasonal Pattern*, p. 194), the agricultural metaphor is comparable to Ps. 129:3a: *'al-gabbî ḥārᵉšû ḥōrᵉšîm*; "upon my back the plowers plowed." Cf. T. Worden, "The Literary Influences of the Ugaritic Fertility Myth in the Old Testament," *VT*, III (1953), 288 and note 2; Dahood, *Psalms III*, p. 231.

A similar ambiguity is found in the description of Anat's bloody rampage: 'tkt . ri̓št . lbmth . šnst . kpt . bḫbšh . brkm . tġl[l] . bdm . dmr . ḫlqm . bmm['] . mhrm; "she attaches (the) heads to her bmt, ties (the) hands to her girdle; she plunges (her) knees in (the) blood of (the) guards, (her) ḫlq in (the) gore of (the) warriors" (3['nt].2.11-16).[1] The parallelism with ḫbš (cf. Hebr. ḪBŠ, "to wrap around") leads Held and Vaughan to conclude that bmt should here refer to the area of the waist.[2] Parallelism does not invariably imply synonymy, however,[3] and Vaughan himself concedes that "precisely what manoeuvre is envisaged here is not quite clear."[4] According to Marvin H. Pope, the picture is of "the goddess slaughtering mankind like Sekhmet in the Egyptian myth and bedecking herself with a necklace of severed heads and a girdle of severed hands like the Indian goddess Kali."[1] This interpretation is attractive, for in the form of a necklace the heads would be attached not to a garment, but directly to the neck and upper torso of the body itself.[2]

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[1] Cf., e.g., Driver, Canaanite Myths and Legends, p. 85; Kapelrud, Violent Goddess, p. 49; U. Oldenburg, The Conflict between El and Ba'al in Canaanite Religion, Supplementa ad Numen Altera Series, III (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969), 87; Cassuto, Anath, p. 87; de Moor, Seasonal Pattern, pp. 88, 91f. Gray's idiosyncratic line-division (Legacy, pp. 41f.) is wrong. On the meaning of ḫlq, see especially de Moor, Seasonal Pattern, p. 92.

[2] Held, "Studies," p. 406; Vaughan, Meaning, pp. 4f.

[3] For a useful discussion of this point, see Barr, Comparative Philology, pp. 277ff.

[4] Vaughan, Meaning, p. 5.

Although this sampling is not extensive, it would be wrong to assume that bmt was subject to a high degree of semantic flexibility in Ugaritic usage.[3] On the basis of the passages where the sense of the word is relatively clear we may conclude that *bmt* designates the dorsal portion of an animal torso. Nothing compells the word to have an appreciably different meaning when used of a human torso.[1] A suitable English approximation would be "back."[2]

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[1] M. H. Pope, review of J. Gray, The Legacy of Canaan, 2d ed., in JSS, XI (1966), 239. Cf. also idem, "'Anat," Wörterbuch der Mythologie, ed. by H. W. Haussig, I (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1965), 239; idem, review of H. Gese et al., Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer, in UF, III (1971), 376.

[2] Although its exact meaning is uncertain, the verb 'tk may support this interpretation. It has been explained on the basis of Arab. 'ataka, "to cling to," which would aptly describe a necklace draped upon the body. Oldenburg (Conflict, p. 87) and Cassuto (Anath, pp. 87, 117) have this in mind when translating 'tk as "hang."

[3] Pace de Moor who concludes that "we may translate 'chest' or 'back,' according to the context" (Seasonal Pattern, p. 91); similarly, Driver's definition "belly, waist, back" (Canaanite Myths and Legends, p. 165). While some flexibility is to be expected (as, e.g., between "belly" and "waist"), if the semantic ranges proposed by de Moor and Driver are correct it is hard to imagine how a Ugaritian using bmt would have been able to communicate effectively, if at all, without considerable gesticulation. According to T. H. Gaster, bmt "is perhaps used in the literal sense of 'belly, stomach' [cf. Akk. bamtu] and then loosely 'back'" ("The Combat of ʼAleyan-Ba'al and Mot--A Proto-Hebrew Epic from Ras-Shamra: The Second Tablet," JRAS [1935], p. 24 note 90).

The final occurrence of *bmt* (4[51].7.34) appears to require an entirely different interpretation. In the preceding lines Baal is said to open a window in his celestial palace (11. 25-28), whereupon (11. 29-31):[3]

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[1] Conversely, one does not sit upon the "chest" or "belly" or "waist" of an animal. While it is true that a rider's legs extend down the "sides" or "flanks" of an animal, our texts are concerned with where the rider is sitting--and certainly not where the saddle and other trappings were secured, as Vaughan implies (*Meaning*, p. 5).

[2] It must not be inferred from this translation, however, that *bmt* is the exact semantic equivalent of *ksl* or *ẓr* for which "back" also is frequently an appropriate rendering. Held has argued that *ksl* properly means "sinew/tendon (> sinew of the back > back)" ("Studies," pp. 401ff.); *ẓr*, which often is used for the "top" of something (cf. *UT*, p. 407), would seem to refer to the exterior *surface* of the back (> "back").

[3] For the text and commentary, see, e.g., Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, pp. 100f.; E. Lipiński, *La Royauté de Yahwé dans la Poésie et le Culte de l'Ancien Israël*, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, Vol. XXVII, No. 55 (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1965), p. 205; de Moor, *Seasonal Pattern*, pp. 159, 162f.; R. J. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, Harvard Semitic Monographs, IV (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 145f.; P. J. van Zijl, *Baal: A Study of Texts in connection with Baal in the Ugaritic Epics*, AOAT, X (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon & Bercker Kevelaer, 1972), 141ff.

qlh . qdš . b['l . y]tn	His holy voice Baal gives forth;
ytny . b'l . ṣ[åt . å]pth	Baal repeats (the) utterance of his lips.
qlh . q[dš . --]r . årṣ	His holy voice ---s (the) earth.

The missing verb may be a form of *trr*, "to tremble" (cf. Akk. *tarāru*),[1] or of *prr*, "to shake" (cf. Hebr. PRR).[2] Following a badly broken section[3] the text resumes (11. 34-37):[4]

bmt . å[--] . tṯṯn	(The) *bmt* --- wobble.
ỉb . b'l . tỉḫd . y'rm	Baal's enemies seized (the) forests,
šnủ . hd . gpt . ġr	Hadad's foes (the) mountain slopes.

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[1] De Moor sees it as a D-stem of *trr*, the verb being attested (G-stem) in 4(51).5.83 and 17(2 Aqht).6.47 (*Seasonal Pattern*, pp. 159, 162); so also Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, p. 153. According to T. H. Gaster, either *trr* or *ntr* (cf. Hebr. NTR) are possible ("Folklore Motifs in Canaanite Myth, *JRAS* [1944], p. 43 note 13).

[2] Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, p. 149 and note 10, citing Isa. 24:19 and Ps. 74:13.

[3] For reconstructions, cf. Gaster, "Folklore Motifs," pp. 31f.; Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, pp. 100f.; Lipiński, *La Royauté de Yahwé*, p. 204; de Moor, *Seasonal Pattern*, pp. 159, 164, and accompanying notes; Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain*, pp. 145f.; Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, p. 149 and note 11.

[4] Cf. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, pp. 100f.; Lipiński, *La Royauté de Yahwé*, pp. 204f.; Gray, *Legacy*, p. 52; de Moor, *Seasonal Pattern*, pp. 164, 166; Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain*, pp. 145f.; van Zijl, *Baal*, pp. 145, 147ff.

The lacuna following *bmt* is customarily restored to read *åṛṣ*, thereby creating the Ugaritic equivalent of Hebr. *bom^{o}tê-ʼāreṣ* in which BMH is routinely thought to carry a topographical meaning. We shall see in Chapter V, however, that an anatomical interpretation of this phrase is by no means impossible.[2]

IV.B. Akkadian 'bamtu' and 'bamâtu'[3]

The word *bamtu* also is an anatomical term used in reference to both humans and animals: e.g.,[4] "you put a bandage on the nape of his neck and on his *bamtu*"; "if he cries 'Woe'

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[1] A. Herdner's drawing of the tablet has the line as it is given here (*Corpus des Tablettes en Cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939*, Vol. II, Mission de Ras Shamra, Vol X [Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1963], fig. 17). Whitaker inexplicably restores *nhr* (*Concordance*, p. 108). De Moor claims that *åṛṣ* alone "does not fill the existing lacuna completely, as it would seem," and suggests that the particle *l*, "verily," be added (*Seasonal Pattern*, p. 164).

[2] See Chapter V.C, especially pp. 243ff. below. Vaughan also questions the usual topographical interpretation of *bmt* in this text, suggesting that the phrase "may well be referring not to the effect of Baal's voice on the earth's surface, but to the bodily reactions of some of Baal's enemies, who are specifically mentioned in the next line" (*Meaning*, p. 6). Vaughan in on the right track, but a more thorough study of the mythological imagery involved is preferable to such off-handed speculation.

[3] Cf. *CAD*, II, 76-79, and von Soden, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 101.

[4] Cited from *CAD*, II, 78f.

during his sickness, lies on his bamtu, and does not turn over"; "if the malformed animal's ears are on the left side of its *bamtu*"; "if the malformed animal has a second head on the right side of its *bamtu*"; "if [its] *bamtu* is affected on the right side"; "the stone which looks like the *bamtu* of a scorpion." The exact signification of the word is not clear in these examples; either the dorsal or ventral portion of a torso could be intended. On one occasion, however, a Canaanite scribe has removed the ambiguity. In the obeisance formula in a letter from Zurata of Akko to his Amarna suzerain *bamtu* is explained as *baṭnu* (Hebr. *beṭen*), "belly": *ušḫeḫḫin ina bantê* [gloss:] *baṭnūma u ṣērūma* [gloss:] *zuḫrūma*; "I have fallen on my belly and on my back" (EA 232:10).[1]

The word *bamtu* (or a homonym)[2] also has a more abstract meaning: e.g.,[1] "he pays bamtu [of the silver owed by him] when he comes back"; "I gave you five minas of silver but you have not [even] returned bamtu [of it]"; "he may take bamtu of my house and live [there] until I arrive"; "if the right bamtu of the gall bladder is covered with a membrane"; "[if he has a mole] on the right bamtu of his thigh." Used in this way the word designates a portion, probably "half," of a whole.

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[1] Cf. J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1915), I, 773f. Von Soden labels the gloss "falsch" (*Handwörterbuch*, p. 101), but this judgment is not easily defended by means of his examples. Held sees this text as the clearest indication that "Canaanite *bmt*" does not mean "back" ("Studies," p. 406), even though it is Akk. *bamtu*, not "Canaanite *bmt*," that occurs here; while Amarna Akkadian is heavily "Canaanized," this text gives direct evidence for the meaning of the Akkadian word, not its West-Semitic cognates.

[2] According to *CAD*, "there is no reason to connect *bamtu* A ['half'] . . . with either *bamatu* or *bamtu* B ['chest']" (II, 78). Von Soden, however, discusses all three words under the same entry (*Handwörterbuch*, p. 101).

The plural bamâtu is clearly a topographical designation: e.g.,[2] "I spread the bodies of their warriors throughout the bamâtu of the mountains and around their cities"; "I made [the blood of their warriors] flow over the lowland and the bamâtu in the mountains"; "I collected [the scattered army] from everywhere in the plain and the bamâtu"; "I dyed red the plain, the region outside the cities [and] all the bamâtu"; "the lowlands of Tupliaš, plain and bamâtu"; "if a man [is bewitched] either in a field, or outside [the city] or in the bamâtu"; "[the waters] have carried off bamâtu, flooded the arable land"; "[the lamb] feeds on the grass in the bamâtu." These examples suggest that bamâtu refers to terrain "which is

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[1] Cited from CAD, II, 77f.

[2] Cited ibid., pp. 76f.

(as it were by definition) uncultivated, yet could be used as pasture, or cultivated, and is frequently a scene of battle."[1] As it is distinct from "plain" (EDIN) and "lowlands" (*ḫarrīu*), and is associated with "mountains" (*šadi*), *CAD*'s definition "open country, plain," seems incongruous;[2] but the alternative "ridges" proposed by Albright is also problematic.[3] Vaughan's "hilly slopes or foot-hills surrounding cities" is a happy compromise which at least fits all the various contexts.[4]

The anatomical and abstract meanings of *bamtu* are easily reconciled; if we are dealing with the same word, the latter meaning may be seen as a generalizing application of the former (ventral half of a torso > half). The topographical meaning is more difficult. According to *CAD*, *bamâtu* "must be assumed to be a *plurale tantum* and, therefore, is not to be connected with either *bamtu* A ['half'] or *bamtu* B ['chest']."[1] Other lexicographers, however, take *bamâtu* as the plural form of *bamtu* and attribute its topographical connotations to the figurative potential of the word's basic anatomical sense.[2] This is the position taken by Vaughan who suggests that "foothill terrain with low undulating ridges sloping up from a plain, looking like the flanks of giant beasts, might well be thought of as 'rib-cages of the mountains' [*bamât šadî*]."[3] Such secondary topographical applications of anatomical terms are well attested in the Semitic languages.[4] Akk. *irtu* provides a useful parallel. This word signifies "chest, breast," not too distant from the apparent anatomical meaning of *bamtu*, but also carries a subsidiary topographical sense: "the brigand from the flanks of the mountains [*irat šadî*]."[5]

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[1] Vaughan, *Meaning*, p. 8.

[2] *CAD*, II, 76.

[3] Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, p. 204 note 114. But as Vaughan notes, "since battles are not fought on rugged mountain heights, any sense of high mountain peaks or ridges must be dismissed" (*Meaning*, p. 8).

[4] Vaughan, *Meaning*, p. 8.

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[1] *CAD*, II, 77.

[2] Cf. von Soden, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 101 ("Hüfte eines Berges, Hang [auch in der Steppe]").

[3] Vaughan, *Meaning*, p. 9.

[4] Cf. E. Dhorme, *L'Emploi métaphorique des Noms de Parties de Corps en Hébreu et en Akkadien* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1963 [reprint of 1923 edition]).

[5] See *CAD*, VII (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1960), 183-188.

Vaughan regards the phrase *bamât šadî* as equivalent to Ugar. *bmt . årṣ* and Hebr. *bom^{o}tê-'āreṣ*.[1] In all three, he argues, an anatomical term is used figuratively for a topographical phenomenon defined as such by the second element of the expression.[2] This explanation, while plausible, fails to consider an important contextual difference in these phrases. Unlike *bamât šadî* which occurs in prosaic accounts of human warfare, both *bmt . årṣ* and *bom^{o}tê-'āreṣ* are known only from poetic descriptions of divine activity. Although this amounts to an argument from silence, *bamât šadî* would seem to have been more of a commonplace expression in Akkadian than either *bmt . årṣ* in Ugaritic or *bom^{o}tê-'āreṣ* in Hebrew.[3] This is further suggested by the fact that the topographical use of *bamâtu* alone is not paralleled in Ugaritic --or, as will be seen, in Hebrew. An explanation of the Ugaritic and Hebrew expressions which accounts for their narrow contextual locus will be explored in Chapter V.

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[1] Vaughan, *Meaning*, p. 9; so also Held, "Studies," p. 406.

[2] Vaughan, *Meaning*, pp. 9, 11f.

[3] Hebr. *ṣēla' hāhār*, "rib [> side] of the mountain," is used as a mundane topographical designation (2 Sam. 16:13) and would be a closer parallel to *bamât šadî* and *irat šadî*.

IV.C. Greek 'bōmos'[1]

Bōmos is the standard Greek term for "altar," specifically the high-built altar used in the worship of the Olympian (or uranian) gods.[2] It is first attested in Homer, usually in this technical sense, but once in reference to some sort of stand upon which a chariot could be placed when not in service (Il. 8.441) and once to the pedestals of statues used to illuminate a banquet-hall (Od. 7.100). There is nothing technical nor cultic in these two passages. This anomalous usage[3] in the oldest well-documented stratum of the language suggests that bōmos originated as a general designation for a stand or platform of unspecified function, whence evolved the more restricted meaning "altar," i.e., a raised structure for specifically religious purposes.[4]

The word has been given an Indo-European etymology commensurate with this semantic history. The long-standing consensus among Greek lexicographers holds that *bōmos* is a verbal-noun derived from *bainō*, "to come, step, mount."[1] This has not won complete acceptance, however.[2] Albright and most recently Vaughan, among others, would see *bōmos* as a Semitic loan-word and connect it with BMH.[3] Albright stated his position first in 1942:

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[1] Cf. Liddell and Scott, Lexicon, p. 334. For a comprehensive survey of the Classical evidence, see W. H. Mare, "A Study of the Greek bōmos in Classical Greek Literature" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1961).

[2] Cf. W. K. C. Guthrie, The Greeks and their Gods, 2d ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), pp. 206f.

[3] For the opinions of the early commentators, see Mare, "Study of the Greek bōmos," pp. 11f.

[4] Cf. ibid., pp. 12f., 21, 179.

> After long opposition and recent hesitation I have finally become inclined to accept the often

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[1] I.e., "something to or on which one mounts" (R. J. Cunliffe, *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect*, 2d ed. [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963], p. 74). For the details, cf. A. Vaniček, *Griechisch-lateinische etymologisches Wörterbuch*, I (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1877), 182; W. Prellwitz, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*, 2d ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1905), pp. 71, 88; E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la Langue Grecque* (Paris: C. Klencksieck, 1916), pp. 112, 138; A. Walde, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indo-germanischen Sprachen*, ed. by J. Pokorny, I (Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1930), 676f.; H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, I (Heidelburg: C. Winter, 1960), 279; Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*, pp. 302, 334; Mare, "Study of the Greek *bōmos*," pp. 9f.; P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la Langue Grecque*, I (Paris: Editions Klencksieck, 1968), 203f.

[2] Vaughan exaggerates in stating (without documentation) that "*bōmos* is generally accepted as being of non-Greek origin" (*Meaning*, p. 22).

[3] Similarly, e.g., Fuerst, *Lexicon*, p. 187; M.-L. Mayer, "Gli Imprestiti semitici in Greco," *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo: Classe di Lettere e Scienze Morali e Storiche*, XCIV (1960), 333.

> suggested Phoenician derivation of Greek *bōmos*, "raised platform, statue-base, pedestal, altar" . . . . In favor of it is not only the almost identical cultic meanings of the two words, but also their etymological form. Gk. *bōmos* has no satisfactory etymology . . . and the lost Phoenician form of Heb. *bāmâ* (from a stem *bwm*, with originally long *a* in the first syllable . . .) must have been something like *bōmoh* from *bômatu*. The Greek ending has obviously been assimilated to a class of nouns ending in accented *mos* . . . . In other words we appear to have perfect phonetic, as well as semantic parallelism.[1]

Although he later changed his opinion of the etymological origin of BMH, the alternative **bahmatu* > *bāmâ* > **bōmâ* reconstruction does not affect this derivation of *bōmos*.[2] Vaughan modifies Albright's position to this extent and concludes that the Greeks probably "borrowed the word from the Phoenicians, and preserved the old form *bōmâ*, current at the time the borrowing was made.[3]

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[1] W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, 5th ed. (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1969), pp. 200f. note 24 (unchanged from all previous editions).

[2] C. G. Yavis reported in 1949 that Albright "now wishes to retract this view" of the Semitic origin of *bōmos* (*Greek Altars* [St. Louis: St. Louis University Press, 1949], p. 54 note 1), but this is not apparent in his subsequent publications. Cf. p. 198 note 1 below.

[3] Vaughan, *Meaning*, p. 22, adding that "the Phoenician word had either already lost its medial *h* by the time the Greeks borrowed it, or the *h* disappeared in the process of being adopted

This line of reasoning is very problematic. Having no anatomical or topographical connotations, bōmos lies outside the semantic matrix defined by the Ugaritic and Akkadian words examined above. Its relevance thus depends entirely upon its phonological and semantic resemblance to Hebr. BMH --or, rather, to a synonymous Phoenician cognate--and only in its technical "cultic" sense.[1] The semantic content of BMH being the point at issue, what Albright and Vaughan have advanced is really a circular argument, first presupposing *ex hypothesi* that bamoth were structures comparable to bomoi and then using the established meaning of the Greek word to

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into Greek" (p. 67 note 89). It is unclear just how he can reconcile the Phoenician derivation of bōmos with his view that the "cultic" signification of BMH "was coined (? in Israel)" (p. 24).

[1] The most obvious defect in all of this speculation is its reliance upon a "lost" Phoenician cognate as the bridge between BMH and bōmos. No lexicon of Phoenician cites such a word. However, two possible occurrences are reported by J. Ferron, "Quelques Remarques à propos de l'Inscription phénicienne de Pyrgi," *Oriens Antiquus*, IV (1965), 181-198. The first is a Middle Phoenician II inscription containing the words bmtn' . bbt . wbmtw (11. 5f.) which he renders "notre BMT dans le temple et sa BMT" (p. 187); he understands BMT as a reference to a piece of cultic furniture, in which case it would support Albright and Vaughan. This text is rather late, however, and BMT could be influenced by Gk. bēma. Ferron notes in passing that the only other occurrence of the word known to him is a reference to the cave of Astarte at Wasṭa (p. 189); this text has been unavailable and so its exact content is unknown, but if Ferron is correct it would mean that Phoen. BMT meant both "platform, altar," and "sanctuary."

"prove" etymologically that the Hebrew word carried a comparable meaning. If it could be independently shown that bamoth were (or might have been) cultic platforms or altars, the possibility of a philological relationship between BMH and bomos might be considered. But the evidence produced in our syntactical analysis of BMH in Chapter II will not sustain this interpretation of the bamah phenomenon. If the two words are not semantically compatible, as this evidence would suggest, the value of their phonological similarity for serious linguistic speculation is nugatory.[1]

Beyond this fundamental defect there is the problem of how bōmos, as a Semitic loan-word, became a part of Greek vocabulary. Albright does not raise this question, but according to Vaughan,

> as the Greeks encountered these cultic platforms [= the bamoth], they will have adopted the appropriate Semitic word to describe them. Thus bōmos entered the Greek language as a cultic word: "altar" remains its commonest sense.[2]

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[1] Cf. p. 196 note 2 above and Albright's passing remark in "High Place" (1957) that "the phonetic resemblance between the two words may be quite accidental, as often happens in language" (p. 253 note 2). This is the only indication of a moderation of his 1942 position in his subsequent pronouncements on the subject.

[2] Vaughan, Meaning, p. 26.

This rather facile explanation does not account, however, for the non-cultic sense "stand, base," carried by bōmos already in Homer. This meaning is otherwise unexampled in Classical Greek,[1] but it occurs with some frequency in later, more popular strata of the language; it is used for sarcophagus bases in a number of Anatolian inscriptions,[2] and as a loan-word in Rabbinic Hebrew for the pedestals of idolatrous statuary.[3] The Near Eastern locus of these references is significant. There is no indication that the "cultic" BMH was used for non-cultic phenomena at any time in antiquity.[4] The non-cultic connotations of bōmos must be attributed, therefore, to an inner-Greek semantic development from the specific to the general which took place almost as soon as the word entered the language. Conversely, the inner-Hebrew semantic development of BMH from "cultic platform" to "sanctuary," which had to have occurred at least by the 8th century by Vaughan's reckoning (cf. Amos 7:9),[1] is completely absent in the Greek.[2]

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[1] Liddell and Scott cite a late epigraphic meaning "tomb" (Lexicon, p. 334) which would seem to be a specialized application of the word's original mundane sense. The diminutive bōmis occurs in Herodotus' description of the stepped formation of the pyramids (2.125).

[2] See J. Robert and L. Robert, "Bulletin Epigraphique," Révue des Etudes Grecques, LXIII (1950), 202. Bōmis likewise occurs here with this sense; see ibid., and G. E. Bean, "Notes and Inscriptions from Pisidia, II," Anatolian Studies, X (1960), 62. Bean suggests that bōmis is "characteristic of this part of Asia Minor."

[3] Cf. M. Jastrow, A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature (London: W. C. Luzac and Co., 1903), I, 162; J. Levy, Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim, 2d ed. (Berlin: Benjamin Harz, 1924), I, 219.

[4] Note that both Albright and Vaughan find the "cultic" BMH to have the non-cultic sense of "grave-mound" in Isa. 53:9a and Job 27:15a, but in both instances this interpretation is doubtful; see Chapter III.K and III.W above. Rabbinic Hebrew

Furthermore, while contact between the Greek and Syro-Palestinian worlds as early as Homer (and before) is not to be denied,[3] linguistic traces of that contact are sparse.

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uses bāmâ in reference to the biblical bamoth, but bîmâ (= Gk. bēma) for non-cultic platforms and podia. BMH in Modern Hebrew combines these two words--a fact which may account for some of the popularity of the platform hypothesis.

[1] Vaughan, Meaning, p. 13. That Phoen. BMT may also have meant "sanctuary" (see p. 197 note 1 above) further complicates the matter.

[2] As are all traces of the "secular" meaning(s) of BMH. Cf. the critique by Mare, "Study of the Greek bōmos," pp. 14f.

[3] BMH had to have entered the Greek language no later than the Homeric period and in a time of fertile cultural interaction on Syro-Palestinian soil. This poses a serious chronological problem; see especially the analysis of the relevant data by J. D. Muhly, "Homer and the Phoenicians: The Relations between Greece and the Near East in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages," Berytus, XIX (1970), 19-64. Vaughan seems to envision an almost hellenistic cosmopolitanism, with Greek-speaking travellers and Semitic-speaking bamah-users comingling and exchanging cultural paraphernalia and terminology. Muhly finds,

There are relatively few sure Semitic loan-words in Greek and Greek loan-words in Hebrew;[1] these tend to be closely tied to the commercial sphere and not observations of other peoples' cultic practices and equipment.[2] This fact has led de Vaux

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on the contrary, that during the Homeric period proper (10th-8th centuries) Greeks had virtually no direct contact with Syria-Palestine, and only spotty indirect contact via Phoenician merchants in the West (the first real evidence for which dates from the late 9th-early 8th century); Ionia, the Homeric homeland, seems to have been in isolation (p. 62). After the "Dark Age" "eastern civilization began to influence that of Greece only with the onset of Greek colonization in the course of the 8th century BC" (p. 59), Hesiod (c. 700) being the earliest literary example. Consequently, unless we assume that Syro-Palestinian traders of the 10th-8th centuries built bamah-platforms wherever they set foot on Greek soil, there would have been little opportunity for Greek-speakers to have "encountered" the phenomenon until after the word is known to have been used in the language. As Yavis observes: "The Semitic etymology [of bōmos] cannot be correct, for it would indicate a much stronger Oriental influence on the form of Greek altars than the material evidence permits. By the 8th century, the period of strongest Oriental influence, a native Greek word must have already become established, and could not have been supplanted easily" (Greek Altars, p. 54 note 1). We are forced to push the date of the borrowing back before the "Dark Age." A Mycenaean presence in Syria-Palestine is clear enough, and Homer does preserve accurate reflections of Mycenaean civilization, but we have no evidence that BMH as a "cultic" term existed at this time (particularly if this sense was "coined" in Israel!).

[1] See especially E. Masson, Recherches sur les plus anciens Emprunts sémitiques en Grec, Etudes et Commentaires, LXVII (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1967); Mayer, "Gli Imprestiti," pp. 311-351.

[2] Cf. Masson, Recherches, pp. 113f.; she does not discuss words like bōmos "dont l'origine grecque est évidente" (p. 8).

to suggest that we may be dealing not with direct borrowing, but with separate derivatives from a common "Mediterranean" parent.[1] This hypothesis is not implausible, but it too rests upon the shaky contention that the bamoth were essentially (or originally) platforms of some sort.

Vaughan also makes much of the fact that bōmos occasionally serves as a translational equivalent of BMH in the LXX. While there is little doubt that "in these passages the translators understood bamoth to be pagan altars,"[2] one cannot infer from this that these translators knew that bamoth actually were cultic platforms or altars or that bōmos was in any way related to BMH.[3] It is preferable to view the choice of bōmos as an interpretation of BMH inspired perhaps by the fortuitous phonological similarity of the two words in lieu of any certain knowledge of the authentic meaning of the Hebrew term.[1] It should be noted in this connection that BMS (= Gk. b$\bar{o}$mos) renders BMH in the late Targumic version of 2 Chronicles in which Greek and Latin loan-words are especially abundant.[2]

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[1] R. de Vaux, Studies in Old Testament Sacrifice, trans. by J. Bourke and R. Potter (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1964), p. 49. J. P. Brown's explorations of Hebrew-Greek lexical correspondences are based upon this same premise: "The majority are not 'Semitic loan-words in Greek'; their source may instead be 'Mediterranean,' further East, or unknown" ("Literary Contexts of the Common Hebrew-Greek Vocabulary," JSS, XIII [1968], 164).

[2] Vaughan, Meaning, p. 35, adding that "this conclusion is confirmed by the fact that they actually used bōmos to translate mizbēaḥ twenty times." The latter is hardly significant--or surprising!

[3] Cf. Chapter I, especially pp. 35f. above.

These factors make it difficult to accept Albright's and Vaughan's contention that b$\bar{o}$mos is philologically related to BMH and thus can be used to illuminate the semantic content of the Hebrew word.

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[1] Cf. P. Walters (formerly Katz), The Text of the Septuagint: Its Corruptions and their Emendation, ed. by D. W. Gooding (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp. 155-196.

[2] Cf. A. Sperber, The Bible in Aramaic, Vol. IV, Pt. A (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), pp. 71f.

CHAPTER V

THE MEANING OF BMH AS A "SECULAR" WORD

If BMH is semantically comparable to the Ugaritic and Akkadian words examined in the preceding chapter, the points of contact must be sought in those biblical passages which, broadly speaking, are comparable in content as well. This limits us to those passages wherein BMH is not the technical designation of a cultic installation, a usage without cognate parallel. At issue, therefore, is the semantic content of the "secular" BMH.

The word is sparsely attested in the Old Testament, occurring only in archaic or archaizing poetry. This fact is significant insofar as it suggests that the "secular" BMH may have had a relatively narrow socio-linguistic Sitz im Leben; it at least does not appear to have been part of common vernacular Hebrew in the biblical period.

The Ugaritic and Akkadian materials raise the possibility that the "secular" BMH may carry either an anatomical or topographical meaning. The latter, which would support the traditional understanding of the word, has been defended by Crenshaw who pointedly depreciates the anatomical option in all but one of the passages under discussion.[1] Most recent commentators give greater prominence to the anatomical possibility, particularly in those passages which they see as reflections of (or borrowings from) Canaanite mythology, but retain the word's topographical signification elsewhere. Vaughan eschews this *ad hoc* approach, but his argument for the primacy of the anatomical meaning of the word evolves more from etymological considerations than from actual Hebrew usage; his treatment of the texts and contexts in which the word occurs is superficial at best.[2] Since usage is the decisive factor in determining meaning, it will be the focus of attention in this chapter.

V.A. *Deut. 33:29b*

> *wᵉyikkāḥᵃšû ʼōyᵉbêkā lāk wᵉʼattâ 'al-bāmôtêmô*
> *tidrōk*;
> and your enemies will come fawning[1] to you

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[1] J. L. Crenshaw, "'*wᵉdōrēk 'al-bāmŏtê ʼāreṣ*'," *CBQ*, XXXIV (1972), 39-53.

[2] Vaughan, *Meaning*, ch. 1.

[3] Cf. 2 Sam. 22:45 (= Ps. 18:45). The verb is commonly used in the Old Testament to convey the idea of deception (e.g., 1 Kgs. 13:18). T. H. Gaster suggests "be faint" (cf. Aram. KḤŠ, "to grow lean, to waste away" > "to become weak"), translating "thy foemen fall faint before thee" ("An Ancient Eulogy on Israel: Deuteronomy 33:3-5, 26-29," *JBL*, LXVI [1947], 56, 62); cf. Ps. 109:24.

and upon *bāmôtêmô* will you tread

The picture here, most certainly, is of the defeated enemy physically humbled beneath the feet of the victor. This scene is familiar from Egyptian and Mesopotamian pictorial art[1] and from the stylized boasts of royal dominion: e.g., "so every foreign country was in humility under the feet of this good god";[2] "it is Amon-Re who has overthrown for him the lands and has crushed for him every land under his feet."[3] It seems likely that the universal ancient Near Eastern practice of genuflection before a monarch as a sign of obeisance[1] is part of the same symbolic imagery.[2]

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[1] H. Frankfort calls this the "conquerer-god" motif in Mesopotamian glyptic; "he appears on a number of seals [of the 1st Babylonian Dynasty] armed with a multiple mace and sometimes with a less extraordinary weapon, but almost always trampling under foot a crouching human figure" (*Cylinder Seals: A Documentary Essay on the Art and Religion of the Ancient Near East* [London: Gregg Press, 1965 (reprint of 1939 edition)], p. 166). Cf. also W. M. F. Petrie, *A History of Egypt*, 7th ed. (London: Methuen & Co., 1924), II, 154, fig. 96 (Amenhotep II seated on his nurse's lap with his feet supported by two rows of crouching captives); P. Fox, *Tutankhamun's Treasure* (London: Oxford University Press, 1951), pl. 60 (an elaborate throne and attached footstool, the upper surface of the latter decorated with figures of captives), pl. 61 (an ottoman decorated with captives on top); J. B. Pritchard, ed., *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), No. 524 (p. 177; the victorious Anubanini standing before Ishtar with one foot on the stomach and chest of a prostrate captive).

[2] Said of Ramses II, c. 1267 (*ANET*, p. 257).

[3] Said of Ramses III, c. 1188, with reference to the defeat of the Sea-Peoples (*ANET*, p. 263). Ramses II boasts that "[Hatti] shall be prostrate under (my) feet forever" (*ANET*, p. 257); Tutmose III "ruled the two lands, and every foreign country was bound under his soles" (*ANET*, p. 245).

In view of its great antiquity and wide diffusion, it should not be surprising to find this imagery in Israelite literature. The cardinal example is Josh. 10:24: "Joshua . . . said to the chiefs of the men-of-war who had gone with him: Come near (and) put your feet upon the necks of these [captured] kings; whereupon they came near and put their feet upon their necks."[3] This passage is echoed in the LXX and Targum renderings of Deut. 33:29b (and also in the Barberini version of Hab. 3:19). With the additional support of BMH's Ugaritic and Akkadian cognates, there is no reason to doubt that the sense of the word in Deut.

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[1] E.g., from Ugarit: *l . p'n . ådty . sb't . w . šb'ỉd . mrḫqtm . qlt*; "at the feet of my Lady seven times (this way) and seven times (that way) at a distance I fall" (52[89].6-11). H. L. Ginsberg explains *mrḫqtm* as "on both lengths," i.e., "on belly and back" ("Two North-Canaanite Letters from Ugarit," *BASOR*, LXXII [1968], 19); although such a mode of genuflection is well known (for an Amarna example, see p. 189 above), it is preferable to connect this word with Hebr. RḪQ, "to be distant, far away."

[2] Such grovelling may be seen as a stylized version of the vanquished's position in the pose which itself presumably evolved from the realities of hand-to-hand combat.

[3] Cf. also Isa. 51:23; Ps. 8:7; 47:3; 60:14 (= 108:13); 68:30; 91:13; 110:1; etc.

33:29b is anatomical and that it is to be understood quite literally.[1]

BMH occurs in two texts employing this same imagery, but which come from a much later stage in the history of the language. Conceptually identical to Deut. 33:29b is 1QM 12:10 (and 19:3, as reconstructed): *tn ydkh b'wrp ’wybykh 'l bmwty ḥll*; "put your hand upon the neck of your enemies and your foot upon (the) *bmwty* of (the) slain." The parallelism virtually demands that BMH carry an anatomical meaning.[2] An anatomical meaning also is required by the content of Sir. 9:2 (Hebrew text):[1] *’l tqn’ l’šh npšk lhdrykh 'l bmwtyk*; "do not arouse yourself for a woman to cause her to tread upon *bmwtyk*."[2]

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[1] So, e.g., Gaster, "Ancient Eulogy on Israel," p. 62; Cross and Freedman, *Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry*, pp. 103, 121f. note 93 (= *JBL*, LXVII [1948], pp. 196, 210 note 93); Tournay, "Psaume et les Bénédictions de Moise," p. 213; Seeligmann, "Psalm from Pre-Regnal Times," p. 89 note 2; K. A. Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and Old Testament* (London: Tyndale Press, 1966), pp. 164f.; Vaughan, *Meaning*, p. 10. Crenshaw concedes that BMH has an anatomical meaning here ("'*w^{e}dōrēk*'," p. 46).

[2] So, e.g., A. S. van der Woude, *Die messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumran*, Studia Semitica Neerlandica, III (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1957), 136; Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*, trans. by B. Rabin and C. Rabin (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 316f.; S. Gevirtz, *Patterns in the Early Poetry of Israel*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, XXXII (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), 79; M. Mansoor, "The Massoretic Text in the Light of Qumran," *SVT*, IX (1963), 320; S. Rin and S. Rin, "Ugaritic-Old Testament Affinities: II," *BZ*, XI (1967), 187. Alternatively, "heaps, mounds," has also been advocated: e.g., H. Bardtke, "Die Kriegsrolle von Qumran übersetzt," *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, Vols VII-VIII (1955), col. 412; M. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Viking Press, 1955), p. 398; A. Dupont-Sommer, "Règlement de la Guerre des Fils de Lumière: Traduction et Notes," *RHR*,

Both Deut. 33:29b and Sir. 9:2 use the idiom DRK + 'L. The author of the latter passage does not mean that the woman actually will "tread upon" the man; the sense of the idiom here is "to have mastery over, to dominate, to rule" (cf. Ugar. *drkt*, "dominion,

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CXLVIII (1955), 163 (cf. *idem*, *The Essene Writings from Qumran*, trans. by G. Vermes [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1961], p. 187); J. Carmignac, "Les Citations de l'Ancien Testament dans 'La Guerre des Fils de Lumière contre les Fils de Ténèbres'," *RB*, LXIII (1956), 257; J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer* (Munich: Ernst Reinhardt, 1960), I, 139. This interpretation--which simply takes for granted the conventional topographical understanding of BMH (natural high place > artificial high place)--is stylistically and conceptually inferior to the anatomical interpretation. Cf. also J. van der Ploeg, *Le Rouleau de la Guerre*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, II (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959), 148.

[1] For a general discussion of the Hebrew fragments, see A. A. DiLella, *The Hebrew Text of Sirach: A Text-Critical and Historical Study*, Studies in Classical Literature, I (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1966). The Greek version reads *mē dōs gunaiki tēn psuchēn sou, epibēnai autēn epi tēn ischun sou*.

[2] Cf. Rin and Rin, "Ugaritic-Old Testament Affinities: II," pp. 186f.; T. Penar, *Northwest Semitic Philology and the Hebrew Fragments of Ben Sira*, Biblica et Orientalia, XXVIII (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1975), 27f. The conventional "high-place" (so, e.g., E. N. Adler, "Some Missing Chapters of Ben Sira," *JQR*, XII [1900], 474) is almost impossible to defend here. Cf. also N. Peters, *Der jüngst wiederaufgefundene hebräische Text des Buches Ecclesiasticus* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1902), p. 40.

might").[1] This idea is also present in the literalistic usage of the idiom, for to "tread upon" something is to exhibit one's control or domination of it; such is the case in Deut. 33:29b.[2]

V.B. *Job 9:8b*

The picture of the victor standing upon the vanquished is found in a strictly mythological context in the story of Marduk's battle with the sea-monster Tiamat in the Enuma Elish: "Having thus subdued her, he extinguished her life; he cast down her carcass to stand upon it" (4.103f.).[3] That we are dealing with a symbolic pose assumed by the victorious Marduk and not a battle tactic is clear from its position in the story-line.[1] Job 9:8b provides a close conceptual parallel:

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[1] For the derivation of the Ugar. noun (and its Hebr. equivalent) from DRK, "to tread," see W. F. Albright, "The Oracles of Balaam," *JBL*, LXVIII (1944), 219 note 82. Cf. further M. Dahood, "Ugaritic DRKT and Biblical DEREK," *Theological Studies*, XV (1954), 627-631; H. Zirker, "DRK = Potentia?," *BZ*, II (1958), 291-294; *UT*, p. 387.

[2] In addition to these and several other BMH passages DRK + 'L occurs only in 1 Sam. 5:5 and Ps. 91:13. The latter is comparable to Sir. 9:2 in that dominion over the beasts, not walking upon them, is the intended sense. In 1 Sam. 5:5 (*lō'-yidrᵉkû kōhᵃnê dāgôn . . . 'al-miptan dāgôn*) the idiom would seem to mean that the priests did not step upon the "threshold" when entering the temple of Dagon; the ritualistic overtones of this action (see Ezek. 46:2 and especially Zeph. 1:9; cf. 1 Sam. 5:4), however, suggest a symbolic import here as well. Cf. M. K. Wakeman, *God's Battle with the Monster: A Study in Biblical Imagery* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), pp. 119f.; she considers DRK + 'L a "mythic expression" (p. 121), in contrast to the more mundane DRK + B.

[3] *ANET*, p. 67. Cf. also 4.129 ("the lord trod on the legs of Tiamat").

> *wᵉdôrēk 'al-bomᵒtê yām*;[2]
>
> and (who) tread upon (the) *bomᵒtê* of Sea.

Marvin H. Pope, among others, sees in this passage "a reference to the myth of the victory of Baal over the sea-god Yamm and the trampling of the body of the fallen foe."[3] This myth, as it is known from Ugarit,[4] may be summarized as follows:

Yamm, deified Sea, claimed kingship among the

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[1] Cf. 2.113, 115 ("the neck of Tiamat thou shalt soon tread upon" [*ANET*, p. 64]). A tactical nuance may be present in 4.118 ("for all their resistance he trampled [Tiamat's retainers] underfoot" [*ANET*, p. 67]), although this may be a summary description of Marduk's total victory.

[2] *Sic*.

[3] Pope, *Job*, p. 70. So also, e.g., W. F. Albright, review of G. Hölscher, *Das Buch Hiob*, in *JBL*, LVII (1938), 227 (cf. also *idem*, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, p. 121 note 24); Tur-Sinai, *Job*, pp. 157f.; W. L. Michel, "The Ugaritic Texts and the Mythological Expressions in the Book of Job (including a New Translation of and Philological Notes on the Book of Job)" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1970), p. 164; Wakeman, *God's Battle*, p. 118; Habel, *Job*, p. 52; Vaughan, *Meaning*, p. 10.

[4] Especially 2.4(68). See A. S. Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts* (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad, 1952), pp. 102ff.; Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, pp. 13f.; Gray, *Legacy*, pp. 26ff.; *ANET*, pp. 130f.; Oldenburg, *Conflict*, pp. 134ff., 191ff.; de Moor, *Seasonal Pattern*, pp. 124ff.; van Zijl, *Baal*, pp. 30ff.

> gods. The council of the gods assembled and, told of Yamm's intentions to seize the kingship and take Ba'l captive, made no protest. They were cowed and despairing, sitting with heads bowed to their knees. Ba'l rises, rebukes the divine assembly, and goes forth to was. In the (cosmogonic) battle he is victorious, and he returns to take up kingship. Presumably he returned to the assembled gods and appeared in glory, and the divine assembly rejoiced.[1]

Baal then receives a temple-palace befitting his royal status.[2] The story is of a piece with Marduk's battle and its aftermath as told in the Enuma Elish.[3] There is no statement that Baal stood upon Yamm as a sign of his triumph,[4] but this may be due to the fragmentary condition of the text or to the particular recension of the story which has been preserved.

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[1] Cross, Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic, p. 93; for the texts, see pp. 114ff.

[2] 4(51) which, according to most scholars, follows 2.4(68). Note that 4(51).5.75ff. implies that Baal already had a "house" : "palace"; what he receives, therefore, must be a new--or cultically re-newed--temple-palace after regaining his kingship from the powers of chaos. On the implications of this, see F. Willesen, "The Cultic Situation of Psalm LXXIV," VT, II (1952), especially 293f., and G. W. Ahlström, Aspects of Syncretism in Israelite Religion, Horae Soederblomianae, V (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1963), 70.

[3] For a West-Semitic origin of the Marduk-Tiamat episode, see T. Jacobsen, "The Battle between Marduk and Tiamat," JAOS, LXXXVIII (1968), 104-108. It is rumored that the Tel Mardik (Ebla) tablets support Jacobsen's argument. Cf. also W. G. Lambert, "A New Look at the Babylonian Background of Genesis," JTS, XVI (1965), 295f.

[4] Vaughan's citation of 2.4(68).14ff. in this connection (Meaning, p. 60 note 32) is mistaken; the action here is clearly a battle tactic--and an unsuccessful one at that!

That Israel's repetoire of theological motifs included a primordial battle between a warrior deity and a monstrous aquatic enemy is witnessed by the biblical references to Rahab, Leviathan, and the "tannin":[1] e.g., "was it not you (who) carved up Rahab, (who) pierced (the) tannin [in the days of old]?" (Isa. 51:9b); "you crushed Rahab like a carcass" (Ps. 89:11a);[2] "on that day Yahweh will punish with his hard and great and strong sword Leviathan (the) twisted serpent, Leviathan (the) crooked serpent, and he will slay the tannin that (is) in the sea" (Isa. 27:1).[3] This last passage duplicates a Ugaritic description of "Lotan . . . (the) domineering one with seven heads" which is slain by Baal (5[67].1.1-3).[1] Similarly: "I have indeed smitten Yamm beloved of El, made an end of (the) mighty Nahar; I have indeed muzzled (the) tannin, muzzled him, slain (the) crooked serpent, (the) domineering one with seven heads" (3['nt].3.35-39).[2] The intertwining epithets in both Ugaritic and Hebrew suggest that there is basically only one creature involved.[3] Its close kinship, if not actual identity, with Yamm in 3('nt).3.35-39 is found also in Israelite tradition: "you broke apart Sea by your might; you shattered (the) heads of (the) tannin upon the waters; you crushed (the) heads of Leviathan" (Ps. 74:13f.);[4] "by his power he quelled the sea; by his cunning he smote Rahab; by his wind he bagged Sea; his hand pierced (the) twisted serpent" (Job 26:12f.).[1]

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[1] "Rahab" and "Leviathan" are proper-names, while "tannin" is a "generic term for monster" (Wakeman, *God's Battle*, p. 102).

[2] Note especially vs. 10a: *’attâ môšēl b^{e}gē’ût hayyām*; "you rule upon the back of Sea" (following M. Dahood, *Psalms II*, AB, XVII [Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1968], 308). On the treatment of *g’wt*, see M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography, II," *Biblica*, XLV (1964), 398f.; *idem*, *Psalms I*, p. 279. Cf. also Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, p. 160 and note 67. For a different understanding of the passage, however, cf. G. W. Ahlström, *Psalm 89: Eine Liturgie aus dem Ritual des leidenden Königs* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1959), pp. 67ff.

[3] On *bāriaḥ* ("twisted") and *'^{a}qallātôn* ("crooked"), see C. Rabin, "*bāriaḥ*," *JTS*, XLVII (1946), 38-41, and Wakeman, *God's Battle*, p. 64, respectively.

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[1] On the relationship with Isa. 27:1, see A. Schoors, "Literary Phrases," Ras Shamra Parallels, ed. by L. R. Fisher, I, Analecta Orientalia, XLIX (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1972), 33ff.

[2] Cf. van Zijl, Baal, pp. 62ff.; Wakeman, God's Battle, pp. 70ff. The decipherment of ŠBM as "to muzzle" (see S. E. Loewenstamm, "The Muzzling of the Tannin in Ugaritic Myth," IEJ, IX [1959], 260-261) and the consequent inference that the monster survived the ordeal (see, e.g., Wakeman, God's Battle, p. 73) have been strongly challenged by J. Barr's analysis of their philological basis ("Ugaritic and Hebrew 'SBM'?," JSS, XVIII [1973], 17-39). Loewenstamm has since modified his opinion ("Anat's Victory over the Tunnanu," JSS, XX [1975], 22-27). Something like "to ensnare" may not be too wide of the mark (cf. p. 215 note 1 below).

[3] Cf. Wakeman, God's Battle, pp. 72f., 103.

[4] On the form tannînîm, cf. ibid., p. 68 note 5 (a singular construction with an enclitic m, misread as a plural), and Dahood, Psalms II, pp. 205f. (who connects the m to the following word).

In his treatment of Job 9:8b and the other possible mythological allusions among the "secular" BMH passages Crenshaw raises an important exegetical question by asking "whether Israel's incorporation of the language of Canaan [implies] wholesale acceptance of the mythological ideas conveyed by the expressions, or whether the mere incorporation of such metaphors into Yahwistic faith robbed them of a degree of realism."[2] He believes the latter to be the case and thus, while conceding that the "victory over a sea dragon (Yamm, Tiamat) rests behind the imagery," he gives Job 9:8b a naturalistic interpretation: "he tramples upon the crest [i.e., waves] of the sea"

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[1] The translation follows Tur-Sinai (*Job*, pp. 383f.) and Pope (*Job*, pp. 185f.) who connect *šipra* to Akk. *saparu*, "net" (cf. Ps. 56:9), thereby reading vs. 13a *b^{e}ruḥô śām yām šiprâ*. Note Marduk's use of a net in his battle with Tiamat (4.94ff. [*ANET*, p. 67]) and the probable meaning of Ugar. ŠBM in 3('nt).3.35-39 (see p. 214 note 2 above); cf. Ezek. 32:3. For RG', see Pope, *Job*, p. 185. This interpretation of the passage has been adopted by Michel, "Ugaritic Texts and Mythological Expressions in Job," pp. 200, 401 note 523; Wakeman, *God's Battle*, pp. 57f. notes 1 and 2; Habel, *Job*, pp. 138f.

[2] Crenshaw, "'*w^{e}dōrēk*'," p. 39.

(cf. Vulg.).[1] Although the enemy figure has been "historified" or depersonalized in a great many of the biblical allusions,[2] Crenshaw exaggerates the extent to which these transformations and adaptations represent a fundamental Israelite dilution of the Canaanite prototype.[3] In the examples cited above the enemy appears in high relief as a mythic personality in its own right, perceived in anthropomorphic or zoomorphic terms; the mythological realism of the metaphor is not noticeably diminished.[1] With excellent conceptual, semantic, and contextual[2] justification may Job 9:8b be included in this category.

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[1] Ibid., p. 47. This is the traditional view: e.g., H. Ewald, Commentary on the Book of Job, trans. by J. F. Smith, Theological Translation Fund Library, XXVIII (London: Williams & Norgate, 1882), 135; A. S. Peake, Job, New-Century Bible, X (New York: Henry Frowde, [1905]), 113; Driver and Gray, Job, I, 85f.; E. König, Das Buch Hiob (Gütersloh: R. C. Bertelsmann, 1929), p. 116; Kissane, Job, p. 49; P. Reymond, L'Eau, sa Vie et sa Signification dans l'Ancien Testament, SVT, VI (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958), 177; S. Terrien, Job, CAT, XIII (Neuchatel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1963), 94; Dhorme, Job, pp. 130f.; A. Guillaume, Studies in the Book of Job, with a New Translation, ed. by J. Macdonald, Annual of the Leeds University Oriental Society Supplement, II (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), 27, 88; F. Horst, Hiob, BK, Vol. XVI, pt. 1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins, 1968), pp. 137, 146; Rowley, Job, p. 92.

[2] All of the relevant material has been collected and analyzed recently by Wakeman, God's Battle, Pt. II. Cf. also the pioneering studies by G. A. Barton, "Tiamat," JAOS, XV (1893), 1-27, and H. Gunkel, Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1895), especially pp. 29-114.

[3] Underlying Crenshaw's study--and prejudicing his findings --seems to be the a priori assumption that "Yahwistic faith" throughout its history was inherently alien to and thus incapable of assimilating Canaanite mythic thought. This idealized view (all too common in Old Testament scholarship at large) is at best a severe oversimplification which misrepresents the complex religious developments which "Canaanized" Israel and "Israelized" Canaan. A far more realistic synthesis is given by Cross in his Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic; cf. also Ahlström, Aspects of Syncretism, and J. A. Soggin, "Der offiziel geförderte Synkretismus in Israel während des 10. Jahrhunderts," ZAW, LXXVIII (1966), 179-204. The "histor-

The mythic battle with the aquatic monster is closely

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ifications and similar transformations of this and other myths which are found in Israelite tradition do not in themselves signal a rejection of their mythological substance--i.e., the borrowing of form, but not of content--since comparable modifications and applications are attested elsewhere in the ancient Near East, among mythopoeic peoples not subject to the supposed theological peculiarities of the Israelites; cf. the Egyptian "historifications" of this myth noted by J. Z. Smith in his review of Wakeman's monograph (*JBL*, XCIV [1975], 443) and the lament over the destruction of Ur (early 2d millennium; *ANET*, pp. 455ff.) where the invasion of barbarians is equated with Enlil's storm. On this point, see G. Widengren, "Myth and History in Israelite-Jewish Thought," *Culture in History*, ed. by S. Diamond (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), especially 479ff.

[1] Hab. 3:15a--*dāraktā bayyām sûsèkā*, which Crenshaw and others would translate "thou didst make thy horses trample Sea" ("'*w^{e}dōrēk*'," p. 49)--is not strictly comparable in this respect. The idiom DRK + B implies that *yām* refers here to an area within which the treading takes place; cf. Deut. 1:36, 11:24f.; Josh. 14:9, and Micah 5:4f., where possession of (i.e., dominion over) a territory is expressed metaphorically as "treading in" it. Although Hab. 3:15a is reminiscent of Job 9:8b in that both speak of the same mythic episode, *yām* functions here as a depersonalized symbol of chaos. Cf. Wakeman, *God's Battle*, pp. 120f.

[2] Cf. the "helpers of Rahab" mentioned in vs. 13 with Tiamat's retainers defeated by Marduk in the Enuma Elish.

linked to the theme of creation, i.e., the establishing of order and organization in the cosmos. This clearly the case in the Enuma Elish and in many of the biblical allusions, and arguably so in the fragmentary Ugaritic materials.[1] Thus, e.g., in Ps. 89 Yahweh's defeat of Rahab is coupled with the assertion that "yours (is) heaven, indeed, yours (is) earth, (the) world and its contents which you established, Ṣapon and Amanus whom [or: north and south which] you created" (vss. 12f.).[2] The slayer of Leviathan is addressed similarly in Ps. 74: "Yours (is) day, indeed, yours (is) night; you brought into being moon and sun; you set up all of earth's boundries, summer and winter which you formed" (vss. 16f.).[3]

This theme is very much in evidence in Job 9. The god "(who) tread upon (the) *bom^{o}tê* of Sea" also made the constellations (vs. 9) and is the one "(who) stretched out (the) heavens himself" (vs. 8a).[1] This last phrase refers to a creative act,[2] but also has definite theophanic connotations (cf. 2 Sam. 22:10ff. [= Ps. 18:10ff.]; Ps. 104:1ff.; 144:5ff.). According to Norman C. Habel, this motif

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[1] See the discussion by L. R. Fisher, "Creation at Ugarit and in the Old Testament," *VT*, XV (1965), 313-324, and Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, especially p. 120.

[2] For discussion, cf. Ahlström, *Psalm 89*, pp. 72ff.; Kraus, *Psalmen*, p. 620; Dahood, *Psalms II*, pp. 308, 314; Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, pp. 160f.

[3] Cf. J. L. McKenzie, "A Note on Psalm 73 (74) 13-15," *Theological Studies*, XI (1950), 275-282; Kraus, *Psalmen*, pp. 517f.; Dahood, *Psalms II*, pp. 206f. Baal likewise has control of the seasons in 4(51).5.68-71; cf. de Moor, *Seasonal Pattern*, pp. 148ff.

> does not seem to be pointing to the creation of the heavens as a structural component of the cosmos, to the construction of an overarching firmament to hold back the celestial waters, or to the building of the sky as a cosmic storehouse, but rather to the preparation of a unique domain of Yahweh for his heavenly theophanies. The heavens are "pitched" to be his cosmic tent where he appears in order to create.[3]

The terrestrial disruption and unnatural darkness described in Job 9:5-7 are not in themselves part of Yahweh's creative activity,[4] but the fitting accompaniment of a theophany (see below).

The heaven-stretching act also links the scene to the theme of cosmic kingship. In Isa. 40:22 Yahweh is pictured "sitting-enthroned upon the rim of the earth, . . . the one who stretched out (the) heavens like a curtain and spread them out like a tent (in order) to sit-enthroned."[1] Creation and cosmic kingship converge; "the heavens are 'pitched' as a sacred world tent where Yahweh 'comes' to reveal himself in theophanic splendor and exercise his kingship as creator, lord and redeemer."[2] If these implications are applicable to Yahweh's "stretching out of (the) heavens" in Job 9:8a, his triumphant pose in vs. 8b may be profitably compared to Ps. 29:10: "Yahweh sits-enthroned on the Flood-dragon; Yahweh is enthroned, king forever."[3] This passage has close Ugaritic and Mesopotamian parallels where the connection with the defeat of the aquatic chaos monster is unmistakable.[4]

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[1] *nōṭeh šāmayim l^{e}baddô* duplicates Yahweh's 1st-person statement in Isa. 44:24b and has strong polemical overtones.

[2] Cf. N. C. Habel, "'He who Stretches out the Heavens'," *CBQ*, XXXIV (1972), 417-430. See, e.g., Isa. 42:5 where the act of "creating" (BR') is defined in terms of "stretching out" (NṬH).

[3] *Ibid*., p. 430.

[4] On the contrary, they are signs of cosmic disorder and chaos.

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[1] Habel connects this passage with the arrangement of the cosmos in Job 26:7ff. ("'He who Stretches out the Heavens'," pp. 421f.), on which cf. J. J. M. Roberts, "ṢĀPÔN in Job 26:7," *Biblica*, LVI (1975), 554-557.

[2] Habel, "'He who Stretches out the Heavens'," p. 430.

[3] *YHWH lammabbûl yāšāb, wayyēšeb YHWH melek l^{e}'ôlām*. The translation follows Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, pp. 147 note 4, 155. Cf. Ps. 89:10a (see p. 213 note 2 above).

[4] Cross compares this passage to RŠ 24.245.1-3: *b'l . yṯb . ktbt . ġr . hd . r[ʿy] . kmdb . btk . ġrh . ỉl . ṣpn . b[m] . ġr . tlỉyt*; "Ba'l sits enthroned, (his) mountain like a dias; Haddu the shepherd, like the Flood dragon, in the midst of his mound, Divine Ṣapon, on the mound of (his) victory" (*Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, pp. 147f. and note 4). For other, and some quite different,

V.C. Micah 1:3 and Amos 4:13

Micah 1:3-4 describes a theophanic coming of Yahweh:

kî-hinnēh YHWH yōṣē' mimm^{e}qômô, w^{e}yārad w^{e}dārak
'al bom^{o}tê[1]*-'āreṣ; w^{e}nāmassû hehārîm taḫtāyw*
w^{e}hā'^{a}maqîm yitbaqqā'û, kaddônag mipp^{e}nê hā'ēš
k^{e}mayim muggarîm b^{e}môrād;
for behold, Yahweh (is) coming out from his place,
and he will come down and tread upon *bom^{o}tê-'āreṣ*;
and the mountains will melt beneath him and the
valleys will be split asunder, like was before
the fire, like water poured out on a slope.

The "place" whence Yahweh descends is the heavens, specifically

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treatments of this text: L. R. Fisher and F. B. Knutson, "An Enthronement Ritual at Ugarit," *JNES*, XXVIII (1969), 157ff.; J. C. de Moor, "Studies in the New Alphabetic Texts from Ras Shamra, I," *UF*, I (1969), 180ff.; E. Lipiński, "Epiphanie de Baal-Haddu (RS 24.245)," *UF*, III (1971), 81-92; M. H. Pope and J. H. Tigay, "A Description of Baal," *UF*, III (1971), 117-130; van Zijl, *Baal*, pp. 358ff.; B. Margulis, "Weltbaum and Weltberg in Ugaritic Literature: Notes and Observations on RŠ 24.245," *ZAW*, LXXXVI (1974), 1-23. Of the Mesopotamian parallels cited by W. G. Lambert, note especially: "Tiamat (Sea) is the seat of Bel on which Bel sits" (from the *Topography of Babylon*), evidently a reference to a piece of cultic furniture in the Akitu-house used to actualize the myth ("The Great Battle of the Mesopotamian Religious Year: The Conflict in the Akitu House [A Summary]," *Iraq*, XXV [1963], 189-190).

[1] See Chapter VII below.

his heavenly "temple" (vs. 2).[1] He comes to punish (northern) Israel for its "sins" as embodied in the city of Samaria (vs. 5).[2] The city is doomed to utter annihilation, the agent of Yahweh's destruction being an earthquake which will reduce the city to rubble (vss. 6f.).[3]

The language and imagery in this pericope recur in many other theophanic descriptions and allusions in the Old Testament:[4] e.g., "his lightning-bolts light up (the) world, the earth sees and trembles; the mountains melt like wax at the sight of Yahweh, at the sight of the lord of all the earth" (Ps. 97:4-5);[5] "[Yahweh] gives forth his voice (and) earth melts" (Ps. 46:7b); "would you had torn open (the) heavens (and) come down, (the) mountains would have shook before you" (Isa. 63:19b);[1] "stretch out your heavens and come down, O Yahweh, touch the mountains and they will smoke; make (your) lightning-bolts flash . . . , shoot your arrows . . . " (Ps. 144:5f.). 2 Sam. 22:7-15 (= Ps. 18:7-15) is particularly rich in detail:[2]

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[1] Cf., e.g., 1 Kgs. 8:30, 39, 49; Isa. 18:4; 63:15; Pss. 2:4; 11:4; 14:2; 33:13f.; 68:34ff.

[2] See the discussion of vs. 5 in Chapter III.S above.

[3] Cf. Sellin, *Zwölfprophetenbuch*, p. 312; J. Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1962), p. 365; Robinson and Horst, *Zwölf kleinen Propheten*, p. 131; Vuilleumier[-Bessard], *Michée*, p. 17.

[4] Cf. Ex. 19:16-20; Deut. 33:2; Judg. 5:4-5; 2 Sam. 22:7-15 [= Ps. 18:7-15]); 1 Kgs. 19:11-12; Isa. 34:4; 42:13-15; 63:19-64:2; 66:15; Joel 4:16; Amos 1:2; 9:5; Nahum 1:2-8; Hab. 3:3-5; Hag. 2:6f., 21; Zech. 9:14; Ps. 29; 46:6-7; 50:1-6; 68:7-10; 77:16-19; 97:2-5; 104:32; 144:5f.; Job 9:5-7; 26:5f., 11; Sir. 16:18f.

[5] Cf. Kraus, *Psalmen*, p. 673. The concluding *’ᵃdôn kol-hā-’āreṣ* (cf. Josh. 3:11, 13; Micah 4:13; Zech. 4:14; 6:5) is reminiscent of Baal's title *zbl . b'l . årṣ* (3['nt].1.3; 5[67].6.10; 6.1.42[49.1.14]; 6[49].3.1, 3, 9, 21; 6[49].4.29, 40); Cross suggests that it originally belonged to Baal (*Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, p. 139 note 94).

(7) From his temple [Yahweh] hears my voice, ...

(8) And the earth quaked and heaved,
And (the) foundations of (the) mountains shuddered
and quaked because he was angry.

(9) Smoke in his nostrils arose and fire from his mouth
consumed;
Coals flamed forth from him.

(10) And he spread out (the) heavens and came down,
Yea, a storm-cloud under his feet;

(11) And he mounted a cherub and flew,
Yea, he soared upon (the) wings of (the) wind.

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[1] *lû'-qāra'tā šāmayim yāradtā mippānêkā hārîm nāzōllû*. For the translation, cf. Judg. 13:23. This is not a prayer for theophanic intervention (so, e.g., in Cross' translation [*Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, p. 159 note 59]), but a lament over Yahweh's failure to intervene to save the Temple and his people from the catastrophe which has befallen them (cf. 64:6b). The prayer comes in 64:11.

[2] The classic treatment is that of Cross and Freedman, *Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry*, p. 133, and accompanying notes (= *JBL*, LXXII [1953], 23f.). See now Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, pp. 158f.

(12) He set darkness round about him, ...

. . . .

(14) In the heavens Yahweh thundered,
Yea, Elyon gave forth his voice, ...

(15) And he shot his arrows . . . ,
Yes, he flashed (his) lightning-bolts . . . .

A fairly uniform literary tradition emerges from these passages: Yahweh's self-revelation is perceived as an awesome cosmic event accompanied by smoke, fire, darkness,[1] atmospheric disturbances (thunder, lightning), and terrestrial disruption--especially earthquakes.[2]

This literary tradition is not peculiar to Israel.[3] Within the wider Syro-Palestinian and general Near Eastern cultural milieu the theophanic appearance of the Storm-God (Adad, Hadad, Baal, Teshub) is described in these same terms. Thus, e.g., the king of Tyre addresses his Egyptian overlord as one "who utters his battle-cry in heaven like Baal, so that the whole land quakes at his cry" (EA 147.13-15).[1] Similarly, a hymn to Adad states that "when the Lord roars, the heavens tremble before him; when Adad is angry, the earth quakes before him; great mountains break down before him."[2] And from Ugarit: "[Baal] gives forth his voice in the storm-clouds, he flashes (his) lightning-bolts to earth" (4[51].5.70-71);[3] "Baal gives forth his holy voice, Baal repeats the utterance of his lips; his holy voice [shakes] (the) earth" (4[51].7.29-31).[4] According to Cross, underlying these descriptions is a single mythopoeic pattern: the march of the Storm-God _qua_ Divine Warrior into battle, armed with his lightning-bolt and other weapons.

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[1] The darkness is, of course, the prelude to the brilliance of Yahweh's actual presence; cf. Ahlström, Joel, pp. 73f. For light motifs, cf. Ahlström, Psalm 89, pp. 85ff., and P. Humbert, "Le Thème vétérotestamentaire de la Lumière," Revue de Theologie et de Philosophie, XVI (1966), 1-9 (especially pp. 3f.). Yahweh's kābōd may speak to either of these elements; see Cross, Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic, pp. 153 note 30, 165ff.

[2] Cf. C. Westermann, The Praise of God in the Psalms, trans. by K. R. Crim (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1965), pp. 93-101.

[3] Against the common belief that the source of this tradition is the Sinai theophany. Cf. the discussion of the Sinai materials from the standpoint of the Storm-God theophany paradigm by Cross, Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic, especially pp. 163ff.

> He drives his fiery cloud-chariot against his enemy. His wrath is reflected in all nature.

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[1] _ANET_, p. 484.

[2] Quoted by Westermann, _Praise of God in the Psalms_, p. 96.

[3] Cf. Gray, _Legacy_, p. 50; de Moor, _Seasonal Pattern_, pp. 148ff.; van Zijl, _Baal_, pp. 107ff.; Cross, _Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic_, pp. 148f.

[4] See pp. 244f. below.

> Mountains shatter; the heavens collapse at his glance. A terrible slaughter is appointed. All nature wilts and languishes. In the foreground is the cosmogonic struggle in which chaos--Yamm or Lotan--is defeated.[1]

Israel, resident in Canaan, absorbed this mythopoeic pattern and its component elements and applied them to Yahweh. The literary descriptions of Yahweh's theophanic appearance amid thunderstorm and earthquake[2] reflect his identity as Israel's Storm-God.[3]

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[1] Cross, Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic, pp. 155f. In the larger overarching mythological scenerio this episode is followed by the victor's installation in his temple-palace and the beneficient consequences of his reign as cosmic king; imagery drawn from this second pattern emphasizes the themes of kingship and fertility. On this, see ibid., pp. 156, 162f.

[2] These two elements cannot be segregated, as attempted by E. C. Kingsbury, "The Theophany Topos and the Mountain of God," JBL, LXXXVI (1967), 205-210.

[3] Thus, according to Cross, "the language of theophany in early Israel was primarily language drawn from the theophany of Ba'l" (Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic, pp. 156f.). W. Gerhardt, Jr., puts it more strongly: "YHWH, during the Canaanite era, is the Hebrew/Israelite adaptation of the agricultural weather-deity Ba'al (Hadad). YHWH is expressed as the Ba'al of Israelite Palestine in much the same manner as the Amorite Marduk is expressed as the Enlil of Babylonian Mesopotamia" ("The Hebrew/Israelite Weather Deity," Numen, XIII [1966], 132). Similarly, W. H. Ward, "The Origin of the Worship of Yahwe," AJSL, XXV (1909), 175-187; I. Engnell, "Baal," Svenskt Bibliskt Uppslagsverk, ed. by I. Engnell, Vol. I (Stockholm: Nordiska Uppslagsböcker, 1962), cols. 158f. Cf. also Ahlström, Joel, p. 82 note 3. Conversely, N. C. Habel argues that "the portrayal of Yahweh's advent in the storm in no way suggests that Yahweh is a storm god. On the contrary, it underscores the fact that Yahweh, not Baal, is king over all the forces of weather and cosmos" (Yahweh versus Baal: A Conflict

This is the background of Micah 1:3-4. The prophet has used only the earthquake element of this theophanic tradition in describing Yahweh's coming. By representing Samaria's destruction also in terms of an earthquake (vss. 6f.) he deftly joins cause and effect, "historifying" the mythological archetype; Yahweh's theophanic appearance produces the earthquake which devastates Samaria.[1] His exploitation of this imagery is prophetic hyperbole inspired, perhaps, by an actual tremor of particular severity which left its mark upon the popular imagination.[2]

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in Religious Cultures [New York: Bookman Associates, 1964], p. 87). It might be noted in response, however, that if we are dealing with a remarkably thorough and "forceful polemic against Baal as the storm god" (*ibid*., p. 88), its affect upon those Balistic Israelites to whom it was directed would certainly have been the identification of Yahweh as no less a Storm-God than Baal.

[1] Note the use of NGR in both vs. 4bβ and vs. 6aα.

[2] A likely candidate is the earthquake during Uzziah's reign, c. 750, mentioned in Zech. 14:4-5 (cf. J. Morgenstern, *Amos Studies I*, Sigmund Rheinstrom Memorial Publications, II [Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1941], 131f. [= *HUCA*, XII-XIII (1937-1938), 5f.] *et passim*; J. A. Soggin, "Das Erdbeben von Amos 1:1 und die Chronologie der Könige Ussia und Jotham von Juda," *ZAW*, LXXXII [1970], 117-121) and evidenced in the destruction of Hazor VI (cf. Y. Yadin, *Hazor* [London: Oxford University Press, 1972], pp. 113, 181, 185). The city's traditional designation as the "mountain of Samaria" (1 Kgs. 16:24; Amos 4:1; 6:1; cf. Jer. 31:5; Amos 3:9) no doubt contributed to the prophet's choice of this particular metaphor. Cf. Rudolph, *Micha, Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja*, pp. 41f.

Amos 4:13 is a poetic description of Yahweh:

> *kî hinnēh yôṣēr hārîm ûbōrē’ rûaḥ ûmaggîd l^{e}-’ādām mah-śēḥô 'ōśēh šaḥar 'êpāh w^{e}dōrēk 'al-bom^{o}tê[1] ’āreṣ, YHWH ’^{e}lōhê-ṣ^{e}bā’ôt š^{e}mô*;
>
> for behold, (he who) forms mountains and creates wind and reveals his musings to man,[2] (who) makes dawn (into) darkness and treads upon *bom^{o}tê-’āreṣ*, Yahweh God of Hosts (is) his name.

The participial constructions suggest that this passage is an extract from a hymn in praise of Yahweh which the prophet has used to conclude this oracle. The other two Amos "doxologies" (5:8-9; 9:5-6) are stylistically comparable, and it is generally agreed that they have been taken from the same hymn.[3]

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[1] *Sic*.

[2] On *ś^{e}ḥô*, see S. Mowinckel, "The Verb *śi^{a}ḥ* and Nouns *śi^{a}ḥ* and *śiḥā*," *Studia Theologica*, XV (1961), 1-10; H. P. Müller, "Die hebräische Wurzel *śiaḥ*," *VT*, XIX (1969), 361-371. Against Müller's objections to the presence of this idea in a "kosmologischen Hymnus" (p. 369), cf. Isa. 44:25-26a.

[3] Numerous attempts have been made to reconstruct a coordinated hymnic unity from these fragments. All involve a greater or lesser degree of textual mutation and rearrangement to conform to the individual commentator's view of correct meter, strophic order, thought progression, and the like. Such an endeavor is

Although no pure examples have been preserved intact in the biblical record, the many fragments and mixed forms[1] leave no doubt that the participial style of hymn was "eine Grundform des Hymnus in Israel."[2] The abundance of Egyptian and Mesopotamian precedents led Hermann Gunkel to conclude that Israel adopted this mode of describing Yahweh from her neighbors.[3] Gunkel's position has been further developed by Frank Crüsemann whose detailed analysis[4] places the content as well as the form of the Israelite participial hymn firmly within a general Near Eastern matrix:

> Diese Aussagen sind nicht grundsätzlich anderer Natur, als sie in den Hymnen der Umwelt von den

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highly subjective, however, and without adequate critical controls the possibilities are almost limitless. For a convenient survey and critique of the various proposals, see Crenshaw, Hymnic Affirmation, ch. 2.

[1] Cf. Isa. 40:22f.; 42:5; 44:24ff.; 45:18; Ps. 68:4, 33f.; Job 9:5-10.

[2] F. Crüsemann, Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel, WMANT, XXXII (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins, 1969), 95.

[3] H. Gunkel and J. Begrich, Einleitung in die Psalmen, II, Supplement, HKAT, XIX (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1933), 47: "diese Art, die Götter zu preisen, hat in Babylonien und Ägypten lange vor Israel bestanden und wird von da aus hier eingedrungen sein." See also pp. 44f.

[4] Crusemann, Studien, ch. 2.

> dortigen Göttern gemacht werden. . . . es sich bei den hymnischen Partizipien um ein feststehendes Formelement der altorientalischen Hymnik handelt, ist also festzustellen, dass mit der Form auch grundlegende Traditionen und Vorstellungen dieser Hymnen in Israel heimisch geworden sind.[1]

Not surprisingly, these participial descriptions of Yahweh often contain elements of the theophanic tradition, the international character of which has already been demonstrated. A case in point is Job 9:5-10[2] which describes Yahweh in terms of his cosmogonic victory over the chaos monster (vs. 8b) and the unnatural darkness (vs. 7) and terrestrial upheaval (vss. 5-6) which accompany his march to battle.

The theophanic tradition is very evident in the Amos "doxologies." Yahweh is said to "touch the earth and it melts" (9:5aβ) and to produce unnatural darkness by turning day into night (5:8aβ-γ).[3] Although the exact meaning of BLG in 5:9a is uncertain, the passage quite probably alludes to the destructive "flashing" of Yahweh's lightning-bolt.[4] As in Job 9, which closely parallels the "doxologies,"[1] the theme of creation is also present; Yahweh "makes" the principal constellations (5:8aα; cf. Job 9:9), "forms" the mountains, and "creates" the winds (4:13aα). "His upper-chambers" which Yahweh "builds" in the heavens (9:6a; cf. Ps. 104:3)[2] may be compared with the temple-palace (re-)built for Baal after his victory over Yamm.[3]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 153. See his collection of Babylonian parallels to the themes of Israel's participial hymnic material (pp. 135ff.).

[2] Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 115ff.

[3] Although its meaning is uncertain, cf. 4:13aγ.

[4] On the basis of Arab. "to shine," with, e.g., Hammershaimb,

In discussing the place of the "doxologies" within the Amos corpus it was pointed out that the portrayal of Yahweh in these hymnic fragments is consistent with that found in the corpus as a whole.[4] Theophanic language and imagery is evident in this material as well:[5] e.g., Yahweh "roars from Zion and gives

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Amos, p. 81.

[1] Cf. Crenshaw, "Influence of the Wise upon Amos," pp. 49f.; *idem*, *Hymnic Affirmation*, p. 135.

[2] On the text, see Hammershaimb, *Amos*, p. 134.

[3] Note also that the title *YHWH (ʾᵉlōhê) ṣᵉbāʾôt* is probably to be linked to the theme of Yahweh's cosmic kingship, and as such may reflect his victory over the powers of chaos (cf. Ps. 89:5ff.); see the important study by Ross, "Yahweh Seba'ot in Samuel and Psalms," pp. 76-92. It would thus be a most suitable epithet for a deity portrayed in terms of the theophanic patterns which revolve around that cosmic battle.

[4] See Chapter III.Q above.

[5] Cf. Crenshaw, "Amos and the Theophanic Tradition," pp. 203-215.

forth his voice from Jerusalem," and vegetation withers in response (1:2);[1] "because of this will not the earth tremble?" (8:8aα; cf. 9:5);[2] "I will make the sun set at noon, and darken the earth during daylight" (8:9; cf. 5:8a). This commonality strengthens the contention that the "doxologies" were incorporated by Amos and not by a later redactor.[3]

It is obvious that the phrase *bom^{o}tê-'āreṣ* in Micah 1:3 and Amos 4:13 refers to some terrestrial feature--specifically mountain-tops--which Yahweh is visualized as standing or "treading" upon. Many commentators regard Yahweh's action as a naturalistic metaphor expressing his great power and sovereignty over the earth.[1] The preceding observations suggest, however, that this action properly belongs to the literary tradition of divine self-revelation associated with the Storm-God and applied by Israel to Yahweh.[2] Micah 1:4 leaves no doubt that it must be connected with the earthquake element of that tradition: Yahweh appears in theophanic splendor upon *bom^{o}tê-'āreṣ*, "and the mountains melt *beneath* him."[3]

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[1] Joel 4:16a duplicates this passage, but replaces the withering of vegetation with the "shaking" (R'Š) of "heaven and earth." On the relationship between the two passages, see Ahlström, *Joel*, pp. 74f. The zoomorphic metaphor suggested by Š'G (cf. Amos 3:4, 8) does not really weaken the theophanic imagery here as much as Cross maintains (*Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, p. 174); cf. Job 37:2-5.

[2] Cf. also the probable earthquake imagery in 9:1 (*pace* J. Ouellette, "The Shaking of the Thresholds in Amos 9:1," *HUCA*, XLIII [1972], 23-27).

[3] Note that the call in 4:12 to "prepare to meet your God, O Israel," is an excellent introduction to a theophanic description of the "god" to be encountered. This would argue against the rather different view of this verse proposed by G. W. Ramsey, "Amos 4:12--A New Perspective," *JBL*, LXXXIV (1970), 187-191.

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[1] Cf., e.g., C. F. Keil, *The Twelve Minor Prophets*, trans. by J. Martin, I, Clark's Foreign Theological Library, XVII (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1880), 277, 427; Marti, *Dodekapropheton*, p. 186; M. L. Margolis, *Micah* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1908), p. 18; Wambacq, *Epithète divine Jahvé S^{e}ba'ôt*, p. 189 *et passim*; Cripps, *Amos*, p. 177; Watts, *Vision and Prophecy in Amos*, p. 54 (= *JNES*, XV [1956], p. 35); U. Devescovi, "'Camminare sulle Alture'," *Rivista Biblica*, IX (1961), 236f.; Kapelrud, *Central Ideas in Amos*, p. 38; Ward, *Amos and Isaiah*, p. 112; Hammershaimb, *Amos*, p. 70.

[2] Cf. those commentators who see here the imagery of the thunderstorm: e.g., Cheyne, *Micah*, p. 18; R. F. Horton, *The Minor Prophets*, I, New-Century Bible, XX (New York: Henry Frowde, [1904]), 228; Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, p. 105; Edghill, *Amos*, p. 47; Driver, *Joel and Amos*, pp. 176f.; Wade, *Micah*, p. 4; Fosbroke, "Amos," p. 809; Marsh, *Amos and Micah*, p. 51; Mays, *Amos*, p. 83. Cf. also Vuilleumier-Bessard, *Tradition cultuelle d'Israël*, pp. 89f.; *idem*, *Michée*, p. 15; Rudolph, *Micha, Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja*, p. 40; Mays, *Micah*, pp. 42ff. According to Vaughan, *bom^{o}tê-'āreṣ* "refers to some mythological mountains upon which Yahweh was visualized as walking, when he appeared in theophany" (*Meaning*, pp. 11f.), an action possibly indicating ownership of the land (p. 9); the idea of ownership is hardly appropriate in Micah 1:3, however, and is elsewhere expressed by the DRK + B idiom (cf. p. 217 note 1 above).

[3] Crenshaw acknowledges the theophanic nature of Yahweh's action, but he gives it a peculiarly Israelite twist; in Amos 4:13 it "refers to Yahweh's conquest of his foes, especially *the Canaanite-*

If *bom^{o}tê-’āreṣ* refers to mountain-tops, it is reasonable to expect the semantic content of BMH to be applicable to such phenomena. Logically enough, generations of biblical commentators almost without exception have assumed that the word has a topographical meaning here: Yahweh treads upon "the heights/ high places of the earth" (RSV). This assumption produces a naturalistic scene very reminiscent of the classic Syro-Palestinian artistic portrayal of the Storm-God, the so-called "Baal au Foudre" from Ugarit.[1] He is depicted as a gigantic figure brandishing a club in one hand and holding a "tree of lightning"

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influenced sanctuaries" on the mountains ("'*w^{e}dōrēk*'," p. 43 [emphasis supplied]), while in Micah 1:3f. "he comes as conqueror of the mountain ranges, the sanctuaries thus succumbing to the intense heat of divine anger" (*ibid*., p. 45). Similarly, cf. Graham, "Suggestions toward the Interpretation of Micah 1:10-16," pp. 251f., 256; Crüsemann, *Studien*, p. 103 note 5; Wolff, *Joel und Amos*, p. 264. This interpretation might be considered only as a secondary "historifying" application of the theophanic motif, but even this seems contrived; it is especially inappropriate in a cultic hymn of which Amos 4:13 would have originally been a part. One cannot suppose that *bom^{o}tê-’āreṣ* would have meant "bamah-installations of (the) earth" in the theophanic tradition *sensu stricto*.

[1] See C. F.-A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica II*, Mission de Ras Shamra, Vol. V (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1949), Pls. XXIII, XXIV (= Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near East in Pictures*, No. 490 [p. 307]). For discussion of the monument, cf. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica II*, ch. 3; A. Vanel, *L'Iconographie du Dieu de l'Orage*, Cahiers de la Revue Biblique, III (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie., 1965), 82ff. It probably dates from 1650-1500 (W. F. Albright, "Some Recent Archaeological Publications," *BASOR*, CXVIII [1950], 31) or somewhat earlier (Vanel, *Iconographie*, pp. 82f.).

in the other,[1] his legs outstretched in the characteristic striding pose of the Near Eastern artistic canon.[2] He stands--or, rather, strides--upon two tiers of wavy lines, "sans doute un façon conventionnelle de représenter les montagnes."[3]

This topographical interpretation of BMH fits the context of these passages so perfectly that scarcely any attempt has been made to seek an alternative; a strictly anatomical meaning seems inherently improbable.[4] But a crucial piece of evidence, overlooked in previous discussions,[1] totally alters this assessment.

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[1] *ʿṣ . brq* (RŠ 24.245.4). Cf. Fisher and Knutson, "Enthronement Ritual at Ugarit," p. 159 note 10; de Moor, "Studies in the New Alphabetic Texts," p. 181; Pope and Tigay, "Description of Baal," p. 124; Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, p. 148. Contrast B. Margulis, "A *Weltbaum* in Ugaritic Literature?," *JBL*, XC (1971), 481-482.

[2] Schaeffer compares the striding pose of the warring pharaoh (*Ugaritica II*, pp. 123f., 130). Cf. also H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, 2d ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1958), p. 148. The pose is completely international and stereotypical; see the very useful discussion by R. H. Smith, "Near Eastern Forerunners of the Striding Zeus," *Archaeology*, XV (1962), 176-183.

[3] Schaeffer, *Ugaritica II*, p. 128. So also, e.g., Frankfort, *Art and Architecture*, p. 148; Vanel, *Iconographie*, p. 83. Cf. the more realistic glyptic versions of this scene (e.g., Vanel, *Iconographie*, figs. 17, 34, 35) and the Amrit stele (Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near East in Pictures*, No. 486 [p. 306]). Others, however, see the wavy lines as symbolizing Yamm: e.g., Habel, *Yahweh versus Baal*, p. 74; Pope and Tigay, "Description of Baal," p. 127.

[4] Thus Vaughan is forced to argue that the anatomical meaning of BMH is used metaphorically here: "flanks of the earth/land" (*Meaning*, p. 12); cf. p. 193 above.

Carved in the rock walls at Yazilikayah near the ancient Hittite capital at Boghazköy is a procession of some 66 deities arranged in two columns according to sex. The chief god and goddess of this Hurro-Hittite pantheon face each other at the head of the columns (Fig. 2):[2]

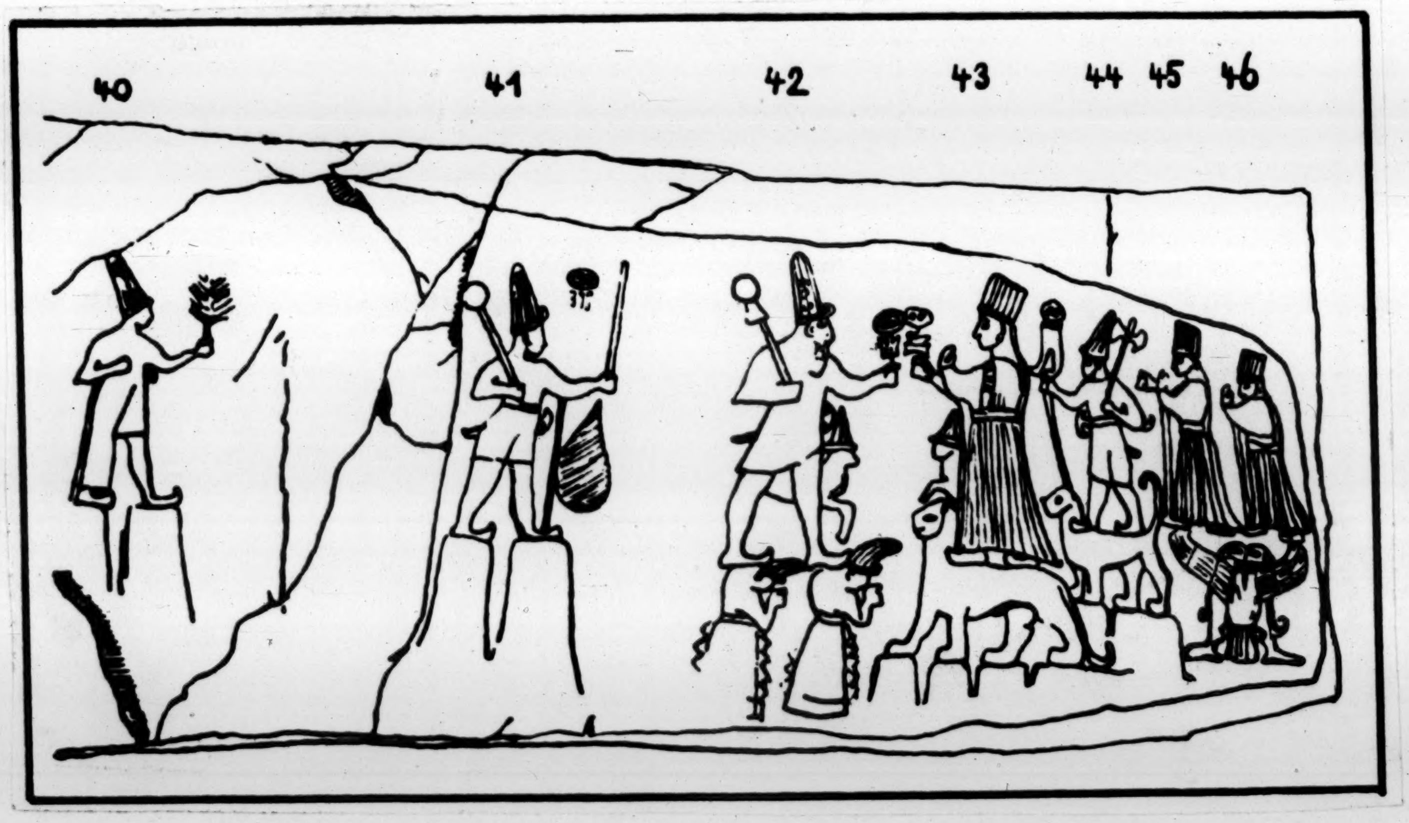

Fig. 2.--Yazilikayah

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[1] Vaughan seems to be the first to draw attention to the reliefs (Meaning, p. 59 note 28); given the priority he argues for the anatomical meaning of BMH, it is incredible that he fails to mention their most strikingly germane feature!

[2] After K. Bittel, Die Felsbilder von Yazilikaya, Istanbuler Forschungen, Vol. V (Bamberg: Archäologischen Institutes des Deutschen Reiches, 1934), Pl. XXXI. The definitive publication of the monument is K. Bittel et al., Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazi-

These two outsized figures are identified by their iconographic attributes and accompanying hieroglyphic labels. The goddess (No. 43) is Hepat; she is standing upon the back of a panther which, in turn, stands upon four cylindrical stumps representing mountains. The deity opposite her (No. 42) is the Storm-God Teshub, wearing a conical headdress and short kilt and cradling a club or mace against his right shoulder. Following him in the procession is an identical but smaller figure (No. 41), perhaps the local Storm-God of the capital-city;[1] he stands upon two cylindrical mountain-tops, as does the smaller figure (No. 40, probably Kumarbi) behind him.[2] The legs of all three are in a striding pose. Unlike the other two, however, the large

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likaya (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1975); for a convenient summary, cf. K. Bittel, Hattusha: The Capital of the Hittites (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), ch. 4. It comes from the Imperial period (c. 1500-1200), but the exact date is disputed; see the discussion by Bittel in Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazilikaya, pp. 247ff., and H. Otten, "Zur Datierung und Bedeutung des Felsheiligtums von Yazilikaya," Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, LVIII (1967), 222-240. On the identification of the deities, see also E. Laroche, "Le Panthéon de Yazilikaya," JCS, VI (1952), 115-123; idem, "Les Dieux de Yazilikaya," RHA, XXVII (1969), 61-109.

[1] Or Šuwaliyat, "frère pur de Tešub." Cf. Laroche, "Dieux de Yazilikaya," pp. 69f.; Bittel et al., Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazilikaya, p. 172.

[2] Cf. Laroche, "Dieux de Yazilikaya," p. 70; Bittel et al., Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazilikaya, pp. 172f. At Ugarit Kumarbi was equated with Dagon; cf. E. Laroche, "Notes sur le Panthéon hourrite de Ras Shamra," JAOS, LXXXVIII (1968), 149f.

figure of Teshub is standing--or striding--upon the humped backs of two small human figures. They are unlabelled, but their conventional dress (peaked caps and long "scale"-covered robes) shows them to be personified mountains.[1]

This portrayal of the Storm-God is by no means exceptional. It recurs on the northeast Syrian seals of Ini-Teshub (a king of Carchemish)[2] and Amanmashu (a functionary of perhaps Egyptian origin in the service of the king of Carchemish),[3] both found at Ugarit. These scenes duplicate a Hittite description of a piece of cultic statuary:

> Der Wettergott des Himmels, Abblid eines Mannes, mit Gold überzogen, sitzend; mit der rechten Hand hält er eine Keule, mit der linken Hand hält er (das Zeichen) "gut" aus Gold; er steht auf zwei Bergen, Abbildern von Männern, mit Silber überzogen. Darunter ist eine Basis aus Silber. Zwei tierformige Gefässe aus Silber (sind da).[4]

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[1] Cf. the statuette pictured in Bittel, Hattusha, pl. 19b.

[2] See C. F.-A. Schaeffer, Ugaritica III, Mission de Ras Shamra, VIII (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1956), 23ff. and fig. 32.

[3] See ibid., pp. 42ff. and fig. 68. Cf. the Mitannian (?) cylinder (fig. 52) discussed by Vanel, Iconographie, pp. 103, 114f.

[4] BO 2383 (= KUB XXXVIII 2 II 8-12), as translated by H. G. Güterbock, in Bittel et al., Das hethitischen Felsheiligtum Yazilikaya, p. 189. For other examples, see H. G. Güterbock, review of C.-G. von Brandenstein, Hethitische Götter nach Bildbeschreibungen in Keilschrifttexten, in Orientalia, XV (1946), 492.

An unusual free-standing stele recovered at Fasillar in Anatolia provides a close sculptural parallel.[1] Similarly, a rock relief at Şimşek Kayasi (Imamkulu), also in Anatolia, shows the Storm-God brandishing a club in his right hand while with the other he holds the reins of a bull which gallops before him; the deity and his bovine emblem are standing upon the humped backs, or necks, of three personified mountains.[2]

It is clear that we are dealing with a well-established iconographic image: mountains in human form supporting the Storm-God. It is a conventional pictorial realization of the theophanic presence of this deity, the anthropomorphic counterpart of the "Baal au Foudre" convention.[3] If BMH carries an anatomical meaning in Micah 1:3 and Amos 4:13, this Hurro-Hittite picture of the Storm-God striding upon the backs of mountain-men would correspond exactly to the biblical picture of Yahweh, Israel's Storm-God, "treading upon *bom^{o}tê-'āreṣ*."

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[1] See H. Swoboda _et al_., _Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, Pamphylien und Isaurien_ (Leipzig: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1934), pp. 14f. and fig. 9.

[2] See L. Delaporte, "Un Bas-Relief rupestre à Imamkoulou," _RHA_, III (1934-1936), 163-164 (with drawing). Cf. also M. von Oppenheim, "Imamkulu, ein neues subaräisches Denkmal aus der Hettiterzeit in Kleinasien," _Archiv für Orientforschung_, XI (1936-1937), 341-350; S. Alp, "Bemerkungen zu den Hieroglyphen des hethitischen Monuments von Imamkulu," _Archiv Orientalnì_, XVIII (1950), 1-8.

[3] Note that _both_ are used in the Yazilikayah procession. For a useful discussion, see E. D. van Buren, "Mountain Gods," _Orientalia_, XII (1943), 76-84.

The Hurro-Hittite provenance of this material in no way weakens the comparison. The presence of Hurro-Hittite peoples in Syria-Palestine during the Late Bronze Age and their not inconsiderable impact on the culture of the region are well documented.[1] They are the "Horites"/"Hivites," mentioned in the Old Testament as part of the indigenous Canaanite population encountered and assimilated by the incoming Israelites.[2] Culturally, Canaan[3] was an uneven amalgam of Semitic and Hurro-Hittite (and Egyptian) components.[4] It would have been quite possible, therefore, for this Hurro-Hittite portrayal of the Storm-God to have entered Israel's repetoire of theophanic imagery through Canaanite mediation.[1] This possibility is enhanced by the appearance

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[1] See especially E. A. Speiser, "The Hurrian Participation in the Civilizations of Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine," *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*, I (1953-1954), 311-327.

[2] Cf. W. F. Albright, "The Horites in Palestine," *From the Pyramids to Paul*, ed. by L. G. Leary (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1935), pp. 9-26, and the articles "Hivite," "Horite," and "Hurrians" by E. A. Speiser in *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. by G. A. Buttrick *et al*. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), II, 615, 645, 664-666, respectively. More recently, see R. de Vaux, "Les H̱urrites de l'Histoire et les Horites de la Bible," *RB*, LXXIV (1967), 497ff.; R. North, "The Hivites," *Biblica*, LIV (1973), 43-62.

[3] Or "Hurri-land," to use the contemporary Egyptian designation of the country; cf. de Vaux, "H̱urrites de l'Histoire," pp. 491, 497.

[4] De Vaux sees the Hurro-Hittites as a minority urban aristocracy (*ibid*., pp. 496f.); cf. also F. W. Bush, "Hurrians," *Supplement to the Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. by K. Crim *et al*. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1976), p. 424 ("nothing more

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than a ruling class" in Palestine). In this connection, see B. Maisler [= Mazar], "Shamgar ben 'Anat," PEFQSt (1934), pp. 192-194 (Shamgar was "a Horite lord . . . ruling in Palestine"), and p. 242 and notes 3 and 4 below. Extra-biblical sources place Hurro-Hittite elements at Jerusalem, Shechem, Taanach, Megiddo, Achshaph, and Ashkelon, to which the Old Testament adds Hebron (Gen. 23:3ff.), Beersheba (Gen. 26:34; 36:2), and Gibeon (Josh. 9:7; 11:19); according to Num. 13:29, the hill-country was occupied by "the Hittites, the Jebusites, and the Amorites." Cf. E. O. Forrer, "The Hittites in Palestine," PEFQSt (1936), pp. 198ff.; I. J. Gelb, "Hittites," Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, ed. by G. A. Buttrick et al. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), II, 612-615; A. F. Rainey, "Hurrians," Encyclopedia Judaica (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1971), Vol. VIII, cols. 1114-1116; Bush, "Hurrians," pp. 423-424.

[1] Many other Hurro-Hittite correspondences to biblical material have been adduced: see, e.g., J. Lewy, "Influences hurrites sur Israël," Revue des Etudes Sémitiques, V (1938), 49-75; W. F. Albright, review of A. Goetze, The Hittite Ritual of Tunnawi, in JBL, LIX (1940), 316; M. R. Lehmann, "Abraham's Purchase of Machpelah and Hittite Law," BASOR, CXXIX (1953), 15-17; G. E. Mendenhall, "Covenant Forms in Israelite Tradition," BAR, III, ed. by E. F. Campbell, Jr., and D. N. Freedman (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1970), 25-53 (= BA, XVII [1954], 50-76); A. Malamat, "Doctrines of Causality in Hittite and Biblical Historiography: A Parallel," VT, V (1955), 1-12; C. Rabin, "Hittite Words in Hebrew," Orientalia, XXXII (1963), 113-139; H. A. Hoffner, Jr., "A Hittite Analogue to the David and Goliath Contest of Champions," CBQ, XXX (1968), 220-225; M. Weinfeld, "To the Origin of Apodictic Law in Ancient Israel," Tarbiz, XLI (1972), 349-360 (Hebr. with Eng. summary [p. I]). According to Mendenhall, "in most if not all cases, the Hittite materials simply happen to be the source from which we know customs which were to a large extent common property to many cultures of Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor" ("Covenant Forms," p. 29 note 12 [= BA, XVII (1954), 54 note 12]). I. Engnell speaks of "the considerable influence exercised by the

of a decorative variant of this artistic convention on an ivory plaque from Megiddo (c. 1350-1300); it shows a king (the Hittite overlord of Megiddo?) supported by three tiers of sphinxes and human figures, including personified mountains.[1] Although Anatolian in style, it may well be of local manufacture.[2]

One certain source of direct Hurro-Hittite influence on Israelite thought is Jerusalem. This city-state was ruled by a Hurro-Hittite dynast in the Amarna era,[3] and perhaps also at the moment it fell into Israelite hands.[4] Uriah "the Hittite" had a

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Hittite civilization upon that of Canaan, and consequently also upon that of Israel, as forming a part and a late manifestation of the former--also in the matter of religion" (*Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East*, 2d ed. [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1967], p. 52; see also pp. 203f.).

[1] See G. Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories*, Oriental Institute Publications, LII (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), 10f. and Pl. 11. Cf. also Frankfort, *Art and Architecture*, p. 131.

[2] Loud, *Megiddo Ivories*, p. 11.

[3] On ARAD-Hep/ba(t), see conveniently J. Gray, *A History of Jerusalem* (London: Robert Hale, 1969), pp. 68ff.

[4] The name of "Araunah the Jebusite" (2 Sam. 24:16ff.) has plausibly been linked to Hur. *iwrn*, "the lord": cf. J. A. Montgomery, "Ras Shamra Notes III," *JAOS*, LV (1935), 94; Gray, *Legacy*, pp. 260f.; "Araunah," *Encyclopedia Judaica* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1971), Vol. III, cols. 290-291. For a Hittite derivation, see A. H. Sayce, "The Hittite Name Araunah," *JTS*, XXII (1921), 267-268; H. B. Rosén, "Arawna--Nom Hittite?," *VT*, V (1955), 318-320. Cf. also de Vaux, "Hurrians de l'Histoire," pp. 500f. note 94.

house in Davidic Jerusalem near the king's palace.[1] Ezekiel's description of Jerusalem as half "Amorite" (= West-Semitic) and half "Hittite" (= Hurro-Hittite)[2] may accurately reflect the cultural heritage of the city which became one of the dominant creative forces in the history of Israelite culture and Yahwistic worship and theology.[3]

This anthropomorthic interpretation of *bom^{o}tê-'āreṣ* in Micah 1:3 and Amos 4:13 finds important literary verification at Ugarit.[1] It is hardly coincidental that the only example of *bmt* which seems not to have an anatomical meaning should occur in a theophanic description of the Storm-God: Baal thunders and in response *bmt . å[rṣ] . tṯṯn*, "*bmt årṣ* wobble" (4[51].7.34).[2] The reference is unquestionably to the quaking of the mountains at the Storm-God's theophanic presence. Elsewhere in Ugaritic, however, "wobbling" (Ugar. NṮṮ) is an action associated with the human body as a sign of physical weakness or discomfiture induced by emotional distress, comparable to the "breaking" (ṮBR), "shaking" (NĠṢ), and "weakening" (’NŠ) of one's "back" (*ksl*, *pnt ksl*, *ẓr*).[3] The use of this verb to describe the effect of Baal's terrifying voice upon *bmt årṣ* strongly suggests that the phrase is an anthropomorphism in which *bmt* would likely carry its regular anatomical meaning.[1]

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[1] 2 Sam. 11:2ff.; 23:39; 1 Chron. 11:41. "Uriah," although Israelitized, may be Hurrian in origin. Cf. D. Boyarin, "Uriah," *Encyclopedia Judaica* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1971), Vol. XVI, cols. 5-6, where mention is made of S. Yeivin's suggestion (in *Zion*, IX [1944], 49-69) that Uriah was a high Jebusite official, possibly the intended successor of Araunah. Sayce would also see "Bath-Sheba" as a corruption of "Bath-H̱ep/ba(t)" ("Hittite Name Araunah," pp. 267f.).

[2] Ezek. 16:3. The various opinions on the composition of the pre-Davidic population of Jerusalem are conveniently summarized by A. Levanon, "Jebus, Jebusite," *Encyclopedia Judaica* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1971), Vol. IX, cols. 1307-1308. J. van Seters argues that "Amorite" and "Hittite" are used rhetorically and as virtual synonyms here and elsewhere in the Old Testament ("The Terms 'Amorite' and 'Hittite' in the Old Testament," *VT*, XXII [1972], 64-81). Ezek. 16:3 is not a random listing, however, and it is certainly not implausible to suggest that an individual of Ezekiel's manifest learning might have been familiar with the history of the political and spiritual capital of the kingdom; cf., e.g., Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, pp. 22, 204.

[3] Similarly, e.g., Malamat, "Doctrines of Causality," p. 1 note 2.

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[1] Hurro-Hittite influence is very much in evidence at Ugarit. Cf., e.g., Schaeffer, *Ugaritica III*, ch. 1; H. A. Hoffner, Jr., "An Anatolian Cult Term in Ugaritic," *JNES*, XXIII (1964), 66-68; Laroche, "Notes sur le Panthéon hourrite de Ras Shamra," pp. 148-150; Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, p. 118. Schaeffer points to certain Anatolian affinities in the representation of Baal on the "Baal au Foudre" stele (*Ugaritica II*, p. 124).

[2] See the discussion of this text in Chapter V (pp. 186ff.).

[3] 3('nt).3.29ff., 4(51).2.16f., and 19(1 Aqht).93f. are virtually identical: *bh . p'nm . tṯṯ . b'dn . ksl . ttbr . 'ln . pnh . td' . tġṣ . pnt . kslh . ånš . dt . ẓrh*. For a useful discussion, see D. R. Hillers, "A Convention in Hebrew Literature: The Reaction to Bad News," *ZAW*, LXXVII (1965), 86-90; on *ksl* and *ẓr*, see p. 186 note 2. The remaining occurrence of the verb (1001.1.9) is too obscure to be cited with confidence, but see the treatment by E. Lipiński, "Juges 5, 4-5 et Psaume 68, 8-11," *Biblica*, XLVIII (1967), 192f.

Israel was fully capable of representing "earth" in such anthropomorphic terms. Of the many biblical examples[2] two are particularly noteworthy, for they are very reminiscent of this Ugaritic passage. In Isa. 24:20aα "earth" is said to "totter like a drunkard." The metaphor is used to describe an earthquake brought about by the opening of the "windows of heaven" (vs. 18bα);[3] similarly, the "wobbling" of *bmt ảrṣ* follows the opening of a window in Baal's celestial temple-palace through which he thunders (4[51].7.25-30). The second example is the praise of Yahweh's cosmic kingship in Ps. 99:1: "Yahweh has become king (and the) peoples tremble, (he) sits-enthroned (upon the) cherubim (and) the earth *tānûṭ*." This verb, a *hapax legomenon*, almost certainly is the Hebrew equivalent of Ugar. NṮṮ,[1] making *tānûṯ hā'āreṣ* and *bmt . årṣ . tṯṯn* virtually synonymous.

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[1] Cf. the very brief remarks of M. K. Wakeman, "The Biblical Earth Monster in the Cosmogonic Myth," *JBL*, LXXXVIII (1969), 319.

[2] E.g., "earth" (or "hills" or "mountains") *sees* (Ps. 97:4; Hab. 3:10), *hears* (Isa. 1:2; Micah 6:1f.), *swallows* (Ex. 15:12; Num. 16:32; Ps. 106:17), *fears* (Ps. 76:9), *mourns* (Isa. 24:4; 33:9; Jer. 4:28; 12:4; 23:10; Hos. 4:3), *worships* and *sings* (Pss. 66:4; 98:7; 148:13). Mention of "earth's skirts" (Job 38:13) recalls the long robes characteristic of the mountain-men.

[3] Cf. Gen. 7:11; 8:2; 2 Kgs. 7:2, 19; Mal. 3:10.

The few commentators who have taken BMH as an anatomical term in Micah 1:3 and Amos 4:13 see Yahweh's "treading upon *bom^{o}tê-'āreṣ*" as an allusion to his victory over some sort of earth monster.[2] The fullest development of this hypothesis is by Mary K. Wakeman who argues for the existence of a "dry" counterpart of the better known "wet" chaos monster (Tiamat, Yamm, etc.).[3] She maintains that the earthquake element of the theophanic tradition "is rooted in the precreation battle in which God split open the primeval earth monster to release the waters of life."[4] The meager evidence hardly warrants so broad a generalization, especially in view of the ubiquity of the earthquake element and the contrasting absence of any documentary verification of a battle between the Storm-God and "Earth" comparable to that with "Sea."[1] If Wakeman is correct, however, this battle presumably would underlie the pictorial representations of the Storm-God atop personified and naturalistic mountains[2] as well as Yahweh's "treading upon *bomᵒtê-’āreṣ*.

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[1] Cf. Lipiński, *Royauté de Yahwé*, pp. 279f.; *idem*, "Juges 5, 4-5 et Psaume 68, 8-11," pp. 191ff.; Dahood, *Psalms II*, p. 368; Schoors, "Literary Phrases," pp. 26f.

[2] Thus, according to Pope, the scene "represents the victorious avenger trampling the backs of the wicked earth" (*Job*, p. 70).

[3] Wakeman, *God's Battle*, ch. 6. Cf. her earlier (and largely derivative) article, "Biblical Earth Monster," pp. 313-320.

[4] Wakeman, "Biblical Earth Monster," pp. 319f.

V.D. Hab. 3:19 and 2 Sam. 22:34 (= Ps. 18:34)

The final occurrence of the idiom DRK + 'L with the "secular" BMH in the Hebrew Bible is Hab. 3:19:

> *YHWH ’ᵃdōnāy ḫêlî wayyāśem raglay kā’āyyalôt wᵉ-*
> *'al bāmôtay yadrikēnî*;
> my Lord Yahweh (is) my strength and he makes[3]
> my feet like hinds and upon *bāmôtay* he causes
> me to tread.

2 Sam. 22:34 (= Ps. 18:34) differs only slightly:

> *mᵉšawweh raglay kā’ayyālôt, wᵉ'al bāmōtay ya'ᵃ-*
> *mîdēnî*;

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[1] Wakeman compensates by equating the *’ereṣ*-monster with Mot. There is no hint of such a connection (e.g., the word's not infrequent sense of "underworld") in our passages; if it is there, one wonders whether the implications which Wakeman sees would have been so easily recognized by a Micah for whom the theophanic earthquake had become a convention.

[2] Cf. Vanel, *Iconographie*, p. 115.

[3] This is the usual interpretation; see below.

> (who) makes[1] my feet like hinds, and upon bā-
> mōtay he causes me to stand.

There is clearly a connection between these two verses;[2] while direct literary dependence is unprovable, their close contextual and functional congruence points at least to a common ancestry.

Hab. 3 is a liturgical prayer in which the speaker calls upon Yahweh to come to the aid of his people and his "anointed-one" (vs. 13) through a revival of his primordial "work" in defeating the powers of chaos (vs. 2). The initial plea is followed by a description of the anticipated theophanic intervention (vss. 3-15). A connection between this description and the cosmic battles of Marduk and Baal has long been recognized,[3] and the familiar elements of the theophanic tradition--unnatural darkness (vs. 11), lightning (vs. 4; cf. vs. 9), earthquake (vss. 6, 10; cf. vs. 7)--are very much in evidence. Of particular note is vs. 12a, "in wrath you bestride earth," an action in complete harmony with Yahweh's theophanic "treading upon *bomᵒtê-ʼāreṣ*" in Micah 1:3 and Amos 4:13.[1]

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[1] This is the usual interpretation; see below.

[2] Classically, F. Delitzsch, Der Prophet Habakuk (Leipzig: Karl Tauchnitz, 1843), pp. 121f., 199f.

[3] Already Ward had seen that the Yahweh pictured here "is such a god as the Syrian and Babylonian Adad" (Habakkuk, pp. 21f.). More recently, see especially U. Cassuto, "Chapter III of Habakkuk and the Ras Shamra Texts," Biblical and Oriental Studies, trans. by I. Abrahams, II (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1975 [first published in 1938]), 3-15; W. A. Irwin, "The Psalm of Habakkuk," JNES, I (1942), 10-40. Cf. also F. J. Stephens, "The Babylonian Dragon Myth in Habakkuk 3," JBL, XLIII (1924), 290-293; Albright, "Psalm of Habakkuk," 1-18; H. G. May, "Some Cosmic Connotations of mayim rabbîm, 'Many Waters'," JBL, LXXIV (1955), 9-21; W. A. Irwin, "The Mythological Background of Habakkuk Ch. 3," JNES, XV (1956) 47-50; Margulis, "Psalm of Habakkuk," pp. 437 et passim.

Vss. 16-19 record the speaker's reaction to the theophany. He is physically overcome with fear:[2] "I have heard and my belly trembles, my lips quiver *lᵉqôl*, rottenness enters my bones and (in) my lower extremities I tremble" (vs. 16a).[3] This is very reminiscent of the terrestrial response to the coming of the

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[1] Cf. also vs. 6a: *ʻāmad wayᵉmōded ʼereṣ*; "he stood and he shakes (the) earth." For *wymdd*, see G. R. Driver, "Hebrew Notes," *ZAW*, LII (1934), 54f., and *idem*, "Difficult Words in the Hebrew Prophets," *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy Presented to Professor Theodore H. Robinson*, ed. by H. H. Rowley (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1950), pp. 70f. Somewhat differently, cf. Irwin, "Psalm of Habakkuk," p. 21; Albright, "Psalm of Habakkuk," pp. 12, 14 note s.

[2] This has been understood as an example of "the well-attested prophetic suffering in the strong grasp of the self-revealing God" (Eaton, "Origin and Meaning of Habakkuk 3," p. 167; cf. also Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel*, pp. 179, 197). But see Hillers, "Convention in Hebrew Literature," pp. 88f., who connects the passage with the Ugaritic literary convention discussed above (p. 244 and note 3).

[3] The translation essentially follows Eaton, "Origin and Meaning of Habakkuk 3," pp. 146, 157. Cf. Albright, "Psalm of Habakkuk," pp. 13, 17 note zz; Margulis, "Psalm of Habakkuk," pp. 428ff.

Storm-God. The speaker's body "trembles" (RGZ) at Yahweh's presence, as do the earth (Ps. 77:19) and the foundations of the mountains (Ps. 18:8);[1] his unsteady legs recall earth's drunken stagger in Isa. 24:20aα. The cause for this behavior is the *qôl* which the speaker "hears," and which if translated "(his) voice"[2] (rather than the customary "[the] sound") underscores the parallel. In vss. 17-19 the speaker proclaims his renewed faith in Yahweh, even in the face of a severe famine. The shift from affliction by apparently human enemies (cf. especially vs. 16b) to a natural catastrophe has prompted several commentators to reject vs. 17 as a disconsonant addition.[3] The verse actually suits the context quite well; infertility such as that depicted in vs. 17 is another terrifying consequence of the Storm-God's march to battle.[4] Even though Yahweh's theophanic intervention occasions a momentary disruption of cosmic order (earthquake, sterility of plants and animals, ominous celestial abnormalities, etc.),[1] the speaker is confident that Yahweh will emerge from the battle victorious, thereby reestablishing cosmic order as realized in the return of fertility and the salvation of his king and people.

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[1] On the variant reading in 2 Sam. 22, see Cross and Freedman, *Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry*, p. 144 note 17 (= *JBL*, LXXII [1953], 23 note 17).

[2] So, e.g., Davidson, *Nahum, Habakkuk and Zephaniah*, p. 92; Humbert, *Problèmes du Livre d'Habacuc*, p. 78; Margulis, "Psalm of Habakkuk," p. 436.

[3] So, e.g., G. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, II, Expositor's Bible, XXVIII (New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1901), 152; G. G. V. Stonehouse, *The Book of Habakkuk* (London: Rivingtons, 1911), pp. 125f.; Humbert, *Problèmes du Livre d'Habacuc*, pp. 71f.; Rudolph, *Micha, Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja*, pp. 240f.

[4] Cf. p. 226 and note 1 above.

This same compositional pattern is found in several royal psalms. In Ps. 144 the speaker prays for his own deliverance from both human (vss. 7bf., 11) and supernatural (vs. 7a) adversaries; Yahweh's intervention on the speaker's behalf is then described in typical theophanic terms (vss. 5-6), and the psalm concludes with an idealized picture of prodigious fecundity which Yahweh's victory in rescuing the speaker will generate (vss. 12-15). This conclusion is the thematic antithesis of the antebellum sterility in Hab. 3:17.[2] Similarly, 2 Sam. 22 (= Ps. 18): the speaker calls upon Yahweh to rescue him (vs. 7); theophanic intervention (vss. 8-16) and the speaker's deliverance (vss. 17-

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[1] Phenomenologically speaking, Yahweh's proper place in the cosmos is his temple-palace where he sits enthroned as victorious and sovereign king. By leaving his place he upsets the delicate equilibrium of cosmic organization achieved through creation, and thereby becomes a disruptive--chaotic--force.

[2] Cf. Eaton, "Origin and Meaning of Habakkuk 3," pp. 161ff.

20);[1] the beneficient consequences of Yahweh's victory (vss. 32-51).[2] Those consequences are here presented in terms of great military success and earthly imperium bestowed upon the speaker. This geo-political idealization, like its nature-oriented counterpart in Ps. 144:12-15, is a manifestation of cosmic order resulting from Yahweh's defeat of the powers of chaos which threaten the speaker.

The fact that the speaker in both of these psalms is the Davidic king adds an important dimension to this pattern. As Yahweh's victory over the powers of chaos occasions the resumption of his cosmic kingship, the earthly counterpart of that kingship is likewise restored by his deliverance of the Davidic king from these same malevolent forces.[3] Bountiful harvests, irresistible military prowess, and universal dominion--the ideolological hallmarks of earthly kingship[1]--are the concomitant of Yahweh's renewed cosmic sovereignty in which the righteous king, as Yahweh's chosen favorite and earthly viceroy, is entitled to participate. 2 Sam. 22:32-51 (= Ps. 18:32-51) is fundamentally a description of that relationship:[2]

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[1] Vss. 21-31 are the speaker's justification for his deliverance.

[2] Cross isolates the theophanic description, viewing it as but one component in a composite work (Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic, p. 158; cf. idem and Freedman, Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry, p. 129 [= JBL, LXXII (1953), 21]), and thus fails to see this exact correspondence between the overall structure of the psalm and his mythological scenerio of which the theophany is a part (cf. p. 226 and note 1 above).

[3] For this correlation between "mythic" and "historical" enemies, see briefly Widengren, "Myth and History in Israelite-Jewish Thought," pp. 479ff. (with references).

> God is the teacher and protector of the royal hero; he bestows upon him irresistible strength and swiftness . . . ; God trains the king in the proper use of weapons; he gives him the protection of the divine shield and, whenever his strength wanes, supports him by the divine might of "his right hand." However, the "grace of kingship" and its victorious power do not give him cause to glory in the knowledge of his human might. . . . [They are] God's blessings which are bestowed upon his protégé. . . . the king speaks of the decisive battles which ended

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[1] Cf. Pss. 2:8; 72:8; 110; Zech. 9:9f.; etc. The association of universal dominion and fertility (cf. also Pss. 72:15-17; 132:15-18) with earthly kingship is found also in the royal inscription of Azitawadda of Adana (ANET, pp. 653f.); the king claims these not only as his own accomplishments, but also as blessings received from his god (pace R. T. O'Callaghan, "Echoes of Canaanite Literature in the Psalms," VT, IV [1954], 175f.). According to Weiser, "the 'grace of kingship' [is] manifested in the blessing of the fruits of the earth" (Psalms, p. 504; cf. also p. 825).

[2] The king's deliverance and thus his position as Yahweh's viceroy is an expression of hesed (2 Sam. 22:51 [= Ps. 18:51]), i.e., a "mutual relationship of rights and duties" characterized by "reciprocity, mutual assistance, sincerity, friendliness, brotherliness, duty, loyalty, and love" (N. Glueck, HESED in the Bible, trans. by A. Gottschalk [Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1967], pp. 54, 55). The terms of this relationship are spelled out in, e.g., 2 Sam. 7:8ff., Pss. 89:2-4, 26-37, and 132:11ff., and are presupposed in the speaker's profession in 2 Sam. 22:21ff. (= Ps. 18:21ff.).

> in his victory. Though he himself is now seen to act side by side with God, he yet emphasizes that it is God who led him to the height of his power.[1]

Through this intimate father/son relationship (cf. 2 Sam. 7:14; Pss. 2; 89:27ff.) could attributes of divinity legitimately be attached to the king.[2]

The statement in vs. 34 that Yahweh causes the Davidic king to "stand upon bāmōtay" must refer in this context to an action symbolic of the king's quasi-divine royal status. It has been variously understood as an expression of sovereignty and triumph or of divine protection and security[3] by commentators who, accepting BMH as a commonplace topographical term, regard the scene as little more than a picturesque naturalistic metaphor. This explanation is not entirely satisfactory, however, for it obscures the supernatural proportions which the king assumes in these verses.[1] Weiser is closer to the mark when he compares the king upon *bāmōtay* to Yahweh upon *bomᵒtê-'āreṣ* and concludes that the picture here is of the king striding "over the mountain peaks with long, confident steps *like a god*."[2]

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[1] Weiser, Psalms, p. 195. One should not see too much Israelite peculiarity in the king's attribution of his victories to his god; Ramses III, himself a god, does exactly the same thing in the text quoted on p. 206 above.

[2] Thus, e.g., the king can be said to sit upon Yahweh's throne (1 Chron. 29:23; 2 Chron. 9:8; cf. Ps. 45:7) alongside the deity (Ps. 110:1), to be "Elyon to (the) kings of (the) earth" (Ps. 89:28; cf. Isa. 14:14), to be a life-giving god to those of his coreligionists who take literally this theological rhetoric (2 Kgs. 5:7). Divine epithets are applicable to the king (cf. the examples listed by Engnell, Studies in Divine Kingship, pp. 37ff., 178ff.): e.g., *'ēl gibbôr* (the king in Isa. 9:5, Yahweh in 10:21). Yahweh is "girded" ('ZR) with strength (Ps. 93:1) as is the king in Ps. 18:33.

[3] Cf., e.g., T. K. Cheyne, The Book of Psalms (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1892), p. 52; A. F. Kirkpatrick, The Book of Psalms, Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges, XX (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951 [reprint of 1902 edition]), 96; W. T. Davison, The Psalms, New-Century Bible, XI (New York: Henry Frowde,

Several artistic representations support this interpretation of the scene. Mention has already been made of the ivory plaque from Megiddo on which a king is shown upheld by small figures, including personified mountains, "as a Hittite artist

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[1904]), 103; Briggs and Briggs, *Psalms*, I, 147; Kissane, *Psalms*, I, 81. Similarly, for Hab. 3:19: e.g., Delitzsch, *Habakuk*, pp. 199f.; Davidson, *Nahum, Habakkuk and Zephaniah*, p. 94; S. R. Driver, *The Minor Prophets*, II, New-Century Bible, XXI (New York: Henry Frowde, [1906]), 98f.; Ward, *Habakkuk*, p. 25; H. Guthe, "Der Prophet Habakuk," *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, 4th ed., ed. by E. Kautzsch and A. Bertholet, II (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1923), 76; Wade, *Habakkuk*, p. 209. This is the position taken by Crenshaw, "'*wᵉdōrēk*'," pp. 49f. Cf. the more psychological interpretation advanced by Sellin, *Zwölfprophetenbuch*, p. 405, and Keller, *Nahoum, Habacuc, Sophonie*, p. 176.

[1] See also pp. 260f. below.

[2] Weiser, *Psalms*, p. 195 (emphasis supplied).

would depict a god."[1] At Yazilikayah a Hittite king is portrayed standing upon two stylized mountain-tops (No. 64).[2] He is identified as a Tudhaliya by the royal cartouche he holds in his right hand; the chief features of this emblem are a winged sun-disk (a symbol of royalty) uplifted by a personified mountain.[3] The small figure in front of the deity on the "Baal au Foudre" stele very likely is the Ugaritic king.[4] His diminutive size and his placement tucked between Baal's legs and the blade of his lightning-bolt illustrate the king's ideological dependence upon Baal's protective power; he exists, as king, literally in the shadow of the god.[5] The king stands upon a pedestal, corresponding to the pedestal which supports the figure of Baal and which in its decoration symbolizes the mountains of his theophany.[1]

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[1] Loud, Megiddo Ivories, p. 11.

[2] See Bittel et al., Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazilikaya, pp. 155ff. and pl. 60.

[3] See the discussion by Güterbock, in Bittel et al., Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazilikaya, pp. 182ff.

[4] Schaeffer, Ugaritica II, pp. 129f. For a different opinion, however, see Frankfort, Art and Architecture, pp. 143, 250f. note 58.

[5] For this idea in Israelite thought, cf. Pss. 17:8; 57:1; 63:7; 91:1; 121:5; Hosea 14:7. The "shadow" of the earthly king likewise benefits those lesser mortals who stand in it; cf. the incident recorded in the story of Wen-Amon (ANET, p. 28 and note 32), and the Mesopotamian materials discussed by A. L. Oppenheim, "Assyriological Gleanings IV," BASOR, CVII (1947), 7-11. See also L. M. Muntingh, "A Few Social Concepts in the Psalms and their Relation to the Canaanite Residential Area," Studies on the Psalms, Die Ou Testamentiese Werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika, VI (1963), 52f.

These examples suggest that the image of a king standing or striding[2] upon mountain-tops is an international artistic convention wholly consistent with the alpine iconography associated with the Storm-God. The king, by virtue of his unique ideological relationship with the god, can be placed in the same mythic locale occupied by the god (cf. Ps. 41:13).[3] The king standing upon *bāmōtay* thus corresponds to Yahweh standing upon *bom^{o}tê-’āreṣ* both pictorially and ideologically, symbolizing the confluence of cosmic and earthly kingship in Israelite thinking.[4]

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[1] Cf. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica II*, p. 128. Baal's pedestal is made up of two identical tiers, each with flared corners and topped by a double-lined border. The king's pedestal is a single tier with flared corners and a double-lined top; if it bears any decoration, it is not mentioned in the secondary literature nor is it visible in the available photographs.

[2] The royal figures wear ankle-length robes, but the positioning of their feet suggests the conventional striding pose.

[3] Cf. also Ps. 2:6: "I have set my king upon Zion, my holy mountain." This action, according to the context, is a sign of the king's enthronement and as such serves to warn his enemies (vs. 10) of the wrath and power of his divine protector; it is thus of a piece with the material discussed here.

[4] Note especially Ps. 89:26, which Cross translates "I set his hand on Sea, his right hand over River" (*Canaanite Myth and*

This interpretation of the imagery is somewhat problematic in Hab. 3:19, since it appears that the speaker here is not the king; vs. 13 refers to the king in the 3rd-person, and the superscription (vs. 1) seems to identify the speaker as the prophet himself. This difficulty is resolved by a consideration of the poem's probable Sitz im Leben as a liturgical piece originating in the pre-exilic Jerusalem Temple cultus.[1] The cult-prophet, as a specialist in prayer and intercession, represents the king (and through him the people) before Yahweh.[2] He speaks on behalf of the king with whom he is, at that moment, ritualistically identical.[3] It is quite appropriate, therefore, that royal

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Hebrew Epic, p. 258). He comments (note 177) that "the mythical allusion to the victory of the divine warrior over the watery chaos has been applied to the king, a natural transfer in the ideology of Canaanite kingship, but remarkable in an Israelite context." Cf. Ahlström, Psalm 89, pp. 108ff.; Dahood, Psalms II, p. 317. Similarly, in Ps. 2 "the son is the king who will perform the deeds of Yhwh, that is his deeds of triumph" (P. A. H. de Boer, "The Son of God in the Old Testament," OTS, XVIII [1973], 195). Cf. also Ps. 110:3.

[1] See Chapter III.U above.

[2] Cf. A. R. Johnson, The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel, 2d ed. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1962), pp. 58f., 75; Lindblom, Prophecy in Ancient Israel, pp. 204ff. See also A. S. Herbert, "The Prophet as Intercessor," Baptist Quarterly, XIII (1949), 76-80.

[3] Similarly, Herbert sees Amos in his capacity as prophetic intercessor praying "not only for Israel, but as Israel" ("Prophet as Intercessor," p. 77 [emphasis supplied]).

terminology and imagery should be applied to him in this capacity.[1]

The -y suffix on BMH in these passages is semantically unclear.[2] Mitchell Dahood in particular has argued that this is one of many instances of a 3rd-person sing. pronomial suffix in biblical Hebrew "equivalent to" the Phoenician -y suffix.[3] Although far from certain,[4] such a reading would suit the context quite well; Yahweh shares his own peculiar domain with his earthly viceroy. If the -y is taken as the normal Hebrew 1st-person sing. pronomial suffix (as most commentators do), it would imply that the king may claim the mythic mountains as his own. The possibility of a pl. absolute construction might also be considered.[5]

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[1] Cf. Eaton, Obadiah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, p. 117. If we imagine how this poem might have been performed in the course of the ritual proceedings, it is not at all impossible to see the king speaking for himself in vss. 16-19 (analogous to the episode described in 2 Chron. 20:5-19).

[2] Cf. Chapter III.U above.

[3] Dahood, Psalms I, p. 115 (quotation taken from pp. 10f. where he presents his general argument); cf. idem, "A Note on Third Person Suffix -y in Hebrew," UF, IV (1972), 163-164. This has been accepted by Crenshaw, "'wᵉdōrēk'," pp. 49f.

[4] Cf. J. J. Jackson, review of M. Dahood, Psalms I, in Pittsburg Perspective, VII, No. 2 (1966), 31; J. C. Greenfield, review of M. Dahood, Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology, in JAOS, LXXXIX (1969), 174f.; Cross, Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic, p. 140 note 96.

[5] Cf. S. Rin, "ê as an Absolute Plural Ending," BZ, V (1961),

If *bāmōtay* and *bom^{o}tê-ʼāreṣ* refer to the same mythic locale, it is reasonable to suppose that the semantic content of BMH in these phrases will not be too dissimilar. This is to say that *bāmōtay* need not be a more naturalistic expression than *bom^{o}tê-ʼāreṣ*. As noted above, most commentators consider these passages to be highly realistic. The basis for this interpretation, however, is *wayyāšem*/*m^{e}šawweh raglay kāʼayyālôt*; thus, e.g., Crenshaw combines the metaphors to obtain a picture of "sure-footed walking like that of a mountain goat."[1] But "hinds" are *not* "mountain goats"; they are animals of the field (Jer. 14:5; Song 2:7; 3:5) noted for fecund maternity (Jer. 14:5; Ps. 29:9; Job 39:1) and grace and beauty (Prov. 5:19), not surefootedness. Weiser and others see the allusion to the hero's animal-like speed.[2] If this is the poet's intent, however, it is odd that he has not used the customary animal metaphor, the gazelle (*ṣ^{e}bî*), for this quality;[3] moreover, it is difficult to

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255-258; Sperber, *Grammar*, p. 40.

[1] Crenshaw, "'*w^{e}dōrēk*'," p. 49.

[2] Weiser, *Psalms*, p. 195. Davison has it both ways, paraphrasing: "He enables me to travel rapidly, yet securely, makes my feet swift and yet sure in the most difficult places" (*Psalms*, p. 103).

[3] Note the heroic description in 1 Chron. 12:9 ("swift as gazelles upon the mountains"); cf. also 2 Sam. 2:18, and p. 277 note 2 below.

understand how heroic speed is to be reconciled with the inertia of "standing, implantation" ('MD) upon *bāmōtay* in 2 Sam. 22:34 (= Ps. 18:34). What has not been generally noticed is that this same idea of immobile placement is also conveyed by ŚWM and ŠWH (II). The speaker's feet are to be "placed" somewhere, and there they will stay; no further movement is implied. In such a context a comparison with "hinds" makes no sense.[1] By reading *’ylwt* as *’êlôt*, "terebinths, mighty trees," we obtain a more suitable metaphor expressing the stability and inviolability of the speaker's position.[2] Accordingly, the speaker's "treading/standing upon *bāmōtay*" would be parallel to, not simply a continuation of, this metaphor.[3]

V.D. *Isa. 14:14a*

’e'^{e}leh 'al-bom^{o}tê 'āb[4]

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[1] Good points out, moreover, that the customary assumption that *’ayyālôt* actually refers to "hinds' (feet)"--a synecdoche where the whole denotes one of its parts--is without biblical precedent ("Text and Versions of Habakkuk 3," pp. 52f.). To take *raglay* as *pars pro toto* is forced, particularly in view of 2 Sam. 22:35f. (= Ps. 18:35f.).

[2] *Ibid*. Although there is no text-critical support for this revocalization, it is not difficult to see how an early confusion of ŠWH (I) and ŠWH (II) could have introduced "hinds."

[3] Since the striding pose is an artistic convention, figures so depicted are simultaneously "treading" (DRK) and "standing" ('MD).

[4] *Sic*.

It was shown in Chapter II.B that the syntax of this passage allows for two quite different interpretations: "I will go up [to a position] upon *bomᵒtê-'āb*," or "I will go up [while] upon *bomᵒtê-'āb*." In the former *bomᵒtê-'āb* would identify the traveller's destination, in the latter his mode of transportation. If the larger context of the passage is considered, several factors point to the second of these possibilities as the intended sense.

Commentators are in basic agreement that behind Isa. 14:12-15 lies "an old myth of the fall of a divine being, the Morning Star, from the height of heaven to the depths of Sheol,"[1] here used to mock the doomed pretensions of the king of Babylon.[2] Its nearest parallel in Semitic mythology is the Ugaritic story of "Aṯtar the Terrible,"[3] the god who tries unsuccessfully to assume

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[1] R. E. Clements, *God and Temple* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965), p. 6. See also, e.g., Albright, "Old Testament and Canaanite Language," pp. 30f.; P. Grelot, "Isaïe XIV, 12-15 et son Arrière-Plan mythologique," *RHR*, CXLIX (1956), 18-48; B. S. Childs, *Myth and Reality in the Old Testament*, SBT, XXVII (Naperville: Alec R. Allenson, 1960), 67ff.; Gray, *Legacy*, p. 288 and note 1; J. W. McKay, "Helel and the Dawn-Goddess: A Reexamination of the Myth in Isaiah XIV 12-15," *VT*, XX (1970), 451-464; Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain*, pp. 160ff.; Kaiser, *Isaiah 13-39*, pp. 38ff.

[2] Cf. Chapter III.I above.

[3] This translation of *'ṯtr 'rẓ* takes *'rẓ* as equivalent to Hebr. *'ārîṣ*, "awe-inspiring, terrible" (cf. the epithet *'ēl na'ᵃrāṣ* in Ps. 89:8a). Through Arab., Gray translates "Aṯtar the Luminous," which

Baal's place in the pantheon (6.1.43-65[49.1.15-37]).[1] The parallel, while inexact,[2] brings Isa. 14:12-15 well within the orbit of Baalistic symbolism and vocabulary.[3] Specifically, it suggests

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would highlight the astral character of the figure (*Legacy*, p. 66 and note 4). On Aṯtar, cf. J. Gray, "The Desert God *'Aṯtar* in the Literature and Religion of Canaan," *JNES*, VIII (1949), 72-83; A. Caquot, "Le Dieu 'Aṯtar et les Textes de Ras Shamra," *Syria*, XXXV (1958), 44-59; M. Dahood, "Ancient Semitic Deities in Syria and Palestine," *Le Antiche Divinità Semitiche*, ed. by S. Moscati, Studi Semitici, I (Rome: Centro di Studi Semitici, 1958), 85ff.; Oldenburg, *Conflict*, pp. 39ff.

[1] Cf., e.g., Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, p. 111; *ANET*, p. 140; Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain*, pp. 163ff.; van Zijl, *Baal*, pp. 195ff.

[2] Specifically: (1) Aṯtar's rise apparently is not the result of his own ambition (at least in this version of the story), (2) his fall is a voluntary resignation, and (3) his fate is not to languish in the underworld (although this line of the text--*wymlk . bảrṣ . ỉl . klh*--is obscure). Grelot's study (see p. 262 note 1 above) has been justly criticized for minimizing these differences. McKay (see p. 262 note 1 above) goes too far in the other direction, however, in his emphasis of the Greek story of Phaethon. P. C. Cragie offers perhaps the most balanced appraisal of the situation: "The most suitable explanation of the admittedly close parallels between the Greek Phaethon myth and the Hebrew Helel account would seem to lie in the independent use and adaptation in both Greek and Hebrew literature of an earlier Athtar myth. . . . The differences, therefore, between the account of Helel and its Ugaritic counterpart are to be explained by poet's license in adaptation, rather than in seeking a closer, although very dubious, parallel in Greek mythology" ("Helel, Athtar and Phaethon [Jes. 14 12-15]," *ZAW*, LXXXV [1973], 224f.).

[3] *Pace* U. Oldenburg, "Above the Stars of El: El in Ancient Arabic Religion," *ZAW*, LXXXII (1970), who sees in Isa. 14:12ff. an older myth of Aṯtar's revolt against El (pp. 206f. and note 122). His evidence for such a conflict outside of South Arabic sources is extremely thin.

that the boast in vs. 14a may be linked to Baal's "cloud-riding" activity, an attribute of the Storm-God which his replacement would have tried (or been expected) to emulate.[1]

rkb . 'rpt, "Cloud-Rider," is Baal's dominant epithet in the Ugaritic corpus.[2] As shown in Chapter II.C, the basic idea conveyed by RKB is "to go up upon, to mount";[3] the epithet thus depicts a figure positioned upon a cloud as one would sit upon an animal or stand in a chariot.[4] In the Old Testament this imagery is applied to Yahweh: "pave the way for the Cloud-Rider" (Ps. 68:5b);[5] "to the Mounted One in the most ancient heavens"

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[1] Contrast the sequential interpretation of vss. 13f. advanced by Margulis, "Weltbaum and Weltberg in Ugaritic Literature," p. 16.

[2] Whitaker's *Concordance* lists 16 occurrences. For a summary of recent scholarly opinion on the phrase, see van Zijl, *Baal*, pp. 329ff. For Mesopotamian parallels, see K. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, Studia Orientalia, VII (Helsinki: Societas Orientalis Fennica, 1938), 175.

[3] Note that RKB + ∅ parallels 'LH + L in 14(Krt).2.73-75 and 4.165-167.

[4] Cf. Enuma Elish 4.50f.: "[Marduk] mounted the storm-chariot irresistible (and) terrifying" and set forth to battle Tiamat (*ANET*, p. 66). See further M. Weinfeld, "'Rider of the Clouds' and 'Gatherer of the Clouds'," *JANES*, V (1973), 422ff. Note also that Phaethon's downfall comes when he attempts to drive a celestial chariot.

[5] *sōllû lārōkēb bā'ᵃrabôt*. The B indicates where the Mounted-One is, i.e., *in* the clouds (as one is in a chariot). Dahood explains the preposition as a metrical necessity (*Psalms II*, p. 136).

(Ps. 68:34a);[1] "behold, Yahweh (is) mounted upon a swift cloud" (Isa. 19:1b);[2] "(who) makes the clouds his chariot (and) moves along upon (the) wings of (the) wind" (Ps. 104:3b-c). Its fullest elaboration is found in 2 Sam. 22:10f. (= Ps. 18:10f.), quoted above, where, significantly, the traveller is identified as Elyon (vs. 14). Given this mythological background, and the fact that in Isa. 14:12-15 the traveller's destination is clearly "the heavens" whence he will fall, it seems likely that vs. 14a is a reference to the vehicle upon which the upward journey was made. BMH would thus be an anatomical term, indicating that the vehicle was perceived zoomorphically.[3]

Cf. also Ginsberg, "Ugaritic Texts and Textual Criticism," pp. 112f. note 6; W. F. Albright, "A Catalogue of Early Hebrew Lyric Poems (Psalm LXVIII)," *HUCA*, XXIII, pt. 1 (1950-1951), 12, 18, 36.

[1] The translation follows Moran, "Remarks on the Song of Moses," p. 325. See also Albright, "Catalogue," pp. 16, 35, 39; Dahood, *Psalms II*, p. 151. Cf. F. M. Cross, Jr., and D. N. Freedman, "A Note on Deuteronomy 33:26," *BASOR*, CVIII (1947), 6-7.

[2] Mowinckel sees Yahweh moving over the cloud ("Drive and/or Ride in OT," p. 299), but the "swiftness" of the cloud shows that it is the vehicle which transports Yahweh mounted upon it; so Moran, "Remarks on the Song of Moses," pp. 323f. Cf. also Kaiser, *Isaiah 13-39*, p. 100.

[3] So, e.g., Albright, "Old Testament and Canaanite Language," p. 31; M. H. Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, SVT, II (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1955), 102; Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography I," p. 302 (see also *idem*, *Biblica*, XLV [1964], 398f.); T. H. Gaster, *Thespis: Ritual, Myth, and Drama in the Ancient Near East*, 2d ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), p. 452; Vaughan, *Meaning*, pp. 10f.; Roberts, "ṢĀPON in Job 26:7," p. 556.

Crenshaw does not make this connection. Noting that 'LH and not RKB is used here, he maintains that "the imagery is not one of riding upon the clouds, but rather of ascending above them, that is, into the presence of El Elyon."[1] Against this interpretation, however, is the 'LH + 'L idiom which does not otherwise signify upward movement to a position suspended above something.[2] Nor can the "Cloud-Rider" motif be defined solely by the use of RKB as Crenshaw suggests (cf. Ps. 104:3). RKB refers only to the act of mounting a vehicle; but the motif also encompasses the transport of the rider once on board, movement for which other verbs must be employed.[3] Isa. 14:14a contains only this second half.[4]

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[1] Crenshaw, "'wedōrēk'," p. 48, translating "I will ascend above the heights of the clouds." This represents the traditional view: cf., e.g., W. H. Cobb, "The Ode in Isaiah XIV," JBL, XV (1896), 26; Gray, Isaiah I-XXVII, p. 249; F. A. Vanderburgh, "The Ode on the King of Babylon, Isaiah XIV, 4b-21," AJSL, XXIX (1912-1913), 117; Oesterley, Ancient Hebrew Poems, p. 100; Kissane, Isaiah, I, 169; Reymond, Eau dans l'Ancien Testament, p. 14; McKay, "Helel and the Dawn-Goddess," p. 451; Clifford, Cosmic Mountain, pp. 161f. and note 85; Kaiser, Isaiah 13-39, p. 29. The allusion in 2 Enoch 29:4f. seems to presuppose this interpretation; cf. J. Morgenstern, "The Mythological Background of Psalm 82," HUCA, XIV (1939), 108.

[2] So noted by Vaughan, Meaning, pp. 60f. note 35. Of the examples of the 'LH + 'L idiom examined in Chapter II.B only Isa. 8:7 would permit such an interpretation, but rather than rising above the river-banks the flood waters here are actually on top of them.

[3] E.g., 2 Sam. 22:11 (= Ps. 18:11); Isa. 19:1.

[4] An allusion to the "Cloud-Rider" motif was deemed apt, but the poet wished to emphasize the ascent into heaven (note the use

Finally, Crenshaw's contention that the purpose of the journey is to come "into the presence of El Elyon" is contradicted by vs. 14b; the traveller wishes to "be like" (DMH + L) Elyon and thus utilizes the mode of transportation associated with that deity.[1]

V.F. *Conclusions*

Eleven of the seventeen occurrences of the "secular" BMH in biblical and post-biblical Hebrew have thus far been examined. Close attention to the imagery, context, and conceptual background of each passage has led to the following conclusions:

1. Deut. 33:29, 1QM 12:10 (and 19:3), and Sir. 9:2 leave no doubt that the "secular" BMH carries an *anatomical* meaning in biblical and post-biblical Hebrew alike. This is also the apparent sense of the word in Job 9:8, Micah 1:3 and Amos 4:13, and Isa. 14:14, mythological allusions in which otherwise inanimate natural phenomena ("sea," "earth," "cloud") are spoken of in an-

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of 'LH in vs. 13) and not the traveller's position vis-à-vis the vehicle. This is preferable to seeing the verse as a reference to the first half of the motif--i.e., that 'LH is used here in place of RKB--which would be syntactically possible, *bom^{o}tê-'āb* being the traveller's immediate destination in the sentence, although not in the pericope as a whole.

[1] That Elyon was a Baalistic "Cloud-Rider" is clear from 2 Sam. 22:7-15 (= Ps. 18:7-15), where perhaps his full name is "Yahweh-Elyon" (vs. 14).

thropomorphic or zoomorphic terms. The situation is less clear in Hab. 3:19 and 2 Sam. 22:34 (= Ps. 18:34), but there is sufficient evidence to sustain an anatomical interpretation here as well.

2. We have seen that the phrase *bom^{o}tê-’āreṣ* belongs to the international mythic imagery of the Storm-God. Specifically, it refers to the "mythological mountains"[1] of his theophany which he surmounts in symbolic expression of his cosmic victory and sovereignty. That its exact equivalent should be attested in Ugaritic and also in conjunction with the Storm-God's theophany (4[51].7.34)[2] indicates that Israel did not coin the phrase, but inherited it intact from the indigenous mythological vocabulary of Canaan in the late second millennium.

3. The specific anatomical signification of the word would appear to be consistent with that proposed for its Ugaritic cognate: the upper portion of the body, suitable for riding (i.e., "back"). It is possible, however, that in 1QM 12:10 (and

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[1] Vaughan, *Meaning*, p. 11.

[2] Assuming, of course, that the restoration proposed for *ả[--]* is correct.

19:3) and Sir. 9:2 the word has undergone a semantic development so as to encompass the entire "body."[1]

If these eleven examples of the "secular" BMH strongly favor the anatomical option, the six remaining occurrences seem at first reading to point in the other direction. Upon closer examination, however, this conflict proves to be more illusory than substantive.

The use of the phrase *bom^{o}te-ʼāreṣ* in Deut. 32:13a stands outside the narrow mythological locus delineated above:

> *yarkibēhû 'al bom^{o}tê*[2]*ʼāreṣ wayyōkal t^{e}nûbōt*
> *śādāy*;
> [Yahweh] caused him to mount *bom^{o}tê-ʼāreṣ* and
> he ate[3] (from the) produce of (the) field.

The *Heilsgeschichte* scenerio and the semantic limitations imposed by the RKB + 'L idiom indicate that we are dealing with a figurative reference to the Israelite occupation of Palestine.[1] The rugged Palestinian landscape, particularly those regions traditionally assigned to the earliest Israelite settlement, has fostered the customary naturalistic interpretation of the phrase --"the high places of the land (of Canaan)"--and of the imagery of which it is a part.[2]

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[1] So Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, p. 316; Gevirtz, *Patterns*, p. 79; Rin and Rin, "Ugaritic-Old Testament Affinities: II," pp. 186f.; W. L. Holladay, "Form and Word-Play in David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan," *VT*, XX (1970), 155ff. For parallels, see also Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography, II," pp. 398f.

[2] *Qere*.

[3] Or "[Yahweh] caused him to eat"; cf. the text-critical discussion in Chapter III.B above.

Vaughan argues that while the phrase *bom^{o}tê-’āreṣ* may be a topographical designation in this passage, the topographical nuance is borne by *’ereṣ* alone (cf. Akk. *bamât šadî*).[3] Such is the case with the phrase *ṭabbûr hā’āreṣ* (Judg. 9:37; Ezek. 38:12) in which *ṭabbûr* acquires secondary topographical overtones from *hā’āreṣ* without losing its independent semantic identity as an anatomical term: "the navel of the earth/land."[4] Like *bom^{o}tê-’āreṣ*, this phrase has very definite mythological connotations,[5] reflecting the concept of a mythographical center linking heaven and earth.[1] Commentators have not hesitated to see an allusion to this concept in the two biblical occurrences of the phrase,[2] even though the context of these passages would suggest that it is nothing more than a figurative reference to a particular natural elevation (cf. *ṣĕla' hăhār* in 2 Sam. 16:13).[3]

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[1] See especially Moran, "Some Remarks on the Song of Moses," p. 326.

[2] Cf., e.g., Dillmann, *Numeri, Deuteronomium, und Josua*, p. 400; Bertholet, *Deuteronomium*, p. 97; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, p. 359; Oesterley, *Ancient Hebrew Poems*, p. 30; Skehan, "Structure of the Song of Moses," p. 71 (= *CBQ*, XIII [1951], 157); Phillips, *Deuteronomy*, p. 217.

[3] Vaughan, *Meaning*, p. 12; cf. p. 193 above.

[4] Cf. Dhorme, *Emploi métaphorique*, pp. 104ff.

[5] Similarly, *ḥêq hā’āreṣ*, "the bosom of the earth," a technical architectural phrase used for the foundation of the altar in Ezek.

Context precludes a strictly mythological interpretation of *bom^{o}tê-'āreṣ* in Deut. 32:13a,[4] but there is an undeniable mythic dimension here. Mowinckel has rightly seen that the mythological image of the Storm-God standing or treading upon *bom^{o}tê-'āreṣ* has been "transferred to Israel in the meaning: have a nearly divine

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43:13-17; cf. W. F. Albright, "The Babylonian Temple-Tower and the Altar of Burnt-Offering," *JBL*, XXXIX (1920), especially 139f.

[1] See recently S. Terriens, "The Omphalos Myth and Hebrew Religion," *VT*, XX (1970), 315-338.

[2] Thus, e.g., according to Terriens, "the perm [probably] alludes to the cosmic signification which was attached to a mountain, possibly Mt. Gerizim" (*ibid*., p. 316 note 4). Cf. also G. R. H. Wright, "The Mythology of Pre-Israelite Shechem," *VT*, XX (1970), 75-82.

[3] It seems to be simply a title, perhaps further defining *ro'šê hehārîm* whence the people descend in Judg. 9:36. Boling regards it as "an old poetic designation for the geography of the Shechem area" (*Judges*, p. 178).

[4] G. E. Wright translates it as if it were pure mythology: "he madehim ride on the back of [the monster] Arṣ" ("Lawsuit of God," p. 29), but adding that it "does not make good sense except as it is highly metaphorical" (note 9).

position among the peoples of the earth."[1] In 2 Sam. 22:34 (= Ps. 18:34) and Hab. 3:19 the transference of this image to someone other than Israel's Storm-God is due to the ideological relationship between Yahweh and the Davidic king who thereby does attain a near-divinity. This connection likewise underlies its use in Deut. 32. Vss. 10ff. personify Israel as Yahweh's chosen favorite and the recepient of his special protection. Vss. 5f., 18, and the simile in vs. 11 define this as a father/son relationship, a familiar metaphor[2] corresponding to the ideological relationship between Yahweh and the king.[3] In vs. 13a, therefore, it is Israel as Yahweh's "son" whom he graciously installs upon *bomᵒtê-’āreṣ*, as his royal "son" is placed upon *bāmōtay* in 2 Sam. 22:34

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[1] Mowinckel, "Drive and/or Ride," p. 298. Having misconstrued RKB, however, he wrongly connects the image to Yahweh's chariot-driving and cloud-riding (cf. pp. 296ff.).

[2] Cf. Ex. 4:22f.; Deut. 1:31; Hos. 11:1; etc. For a recent discussion, see de Boer, "Son of God in the Old Testament," pp. 195ff.

[3] Cf. de Boer, "Son of God in the Old Testament," pp. 205f., and the brief remarks by G. Cooke, "The Israelite King as Son of God," *ZAW*, LXXIII (1961), 216f., 218, 225. For one possible common denominator, see F. C. Fensham, "Father and Son as Terminology for Treaty and Covenant," *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, ed. by H. Goedicke (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971), pp. 121-135. Yahweh keeps the king "like the apple of his eye" in Ps. 17:8, as he does the personified Israel in Deut. 32:10b; note that the simile is associated with ornithological imagery in both passages.

(= Ps. 18:34) and Hab. 3:19.[1] The image and its rationale are fundamentally identical; the only difference is the element of secondary "historification" introduced into Deut. 32:13a by the *Heilsgeschichte* format of the pericope.[2] Moran's cautious interpretation acknowledges both of these aspects: "Yahweh installed Israel on its traditional site, the mountains of Palestine, with the possible implication that they were properly the divine domain."[3]

The two remaining occurrences of the phrase *bom^{o}tê-'āreṣ* continue this "historified" application. Isa. 58:14aβ-bα is a late passage and dependent upon Deut. 32:13a:[4]

w^{e}hirkabtîkā 'al bom^{o}tê[5] 'āreṣ, w^{e}ha'^{a}kaltîkā

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[1] Although wrongly reading horizontal movement into RKB, H. W. Robinson's interpretation of the passage is to the point: "The figure is that of the victorious warrior, advancing resistlessly . . . , and is elsewhere applied to Yahweh Himself . . . , who makes His child sharer in His victory" (*Deuteronomy and Joshua*, p. 223).

[2] *Pace* Mowinckel who sees the image in 2 Sam. 22:34 (= Ps. 18:34) and Hab. 3:19 "to a certain degree 'entymythologisiert'" ("Drive and/or Ride," p. 298 note 4; cf. *idem*, "Psalm des Habakuk," pp. 21f.).

[3] Moran, "Some Remarks on the Song of Moses," p. 327. Cf. also J. L. McKenzie, *Second Isaiah*, AB, XX (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1968), 165 (on 58:14).

[4] See p. 93 note 1 above for references.

[5] *Qere*.

> *naḥ^{a}lat ya'^{a}qōb ʾābîkā*;
>
> and I will cause you to mount *bom^{o}tê-ʾāreṣ*, and
> I will cause you to eat (from the) inheritance
> of Jacob your father.[1]

Similarly, the Hebrew text of Sir. 46:9b: *lhdrykw 'l bmty ʾrṣ wgm zr'w nḥlh*,[2] "[Yahweh gave Caleb strength] to cause him to tread upon *bmty ʾrṣ* and his seed possessed [the land of] their inheritance." In these passages the transition from mythological allusion to neutral figurative language is complete, the phrase having become simply "a stock poetic formula."[3]

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[1] For interpretations following the customary naturalistic understanding of Deut. 32:13a, cf., e.g., Duhm, *Jesaja*, p. 410; Skinner, *Isaiah XL-LXVI*, p. 186; P. Volz, *Jesaja II*, KAT, IX (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1932), 229; Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, p. 342; Crenshaw, "'*w^{e}dōrēk*'," p. 51. A mythological interpretation to Wright's treatment of Deut. 32:13a (see p. 271 note 4 above) has evidently been suggested by F. J. Neuberg, "Ugaritic and the Book of Isaiah" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1950), p. 142 (cited by Michel, "Ugaritic Texts and Mythological Expressions in Job," p. 292 note 173).

[2] On the text, see Peters, *Text des Buches Ecclesiasticus*, p. 254. The Gk. version reads *epibēnai auton epi hupsos tēs gēs, kai to sperma autou katesche klēronomian*.

[3] Vaughan, *Meaning*, pp. 9, 12. As A. S. Herbert puts it, "the phrase, originally derived from a Canaanite liturgy, had become a conventional one to indicate sovereignty" (*The Book of the Prophet Isaiah: Chapters 40-66*, Cambridge Bible Commentary [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975], p. 147). It can hardly be supposed that the testimony of these two very late and conventionalized occurrences of the phrase supercedes that of Micah 1:3 and Amos 4:13.

The 1QIsa^{a} version of Isa. 53:9a reads *wytn 't rš'ym qbrw w'm 'syr bwmtw*. As pointed out in Chapter III.K, the spelling of *bwmtw* indicates that it is a "secular" BMH construction. Assuming that vs. 9aβ stands in complementary parallel with vs. 9aα, it might be possible for the word to have a topographical meaning of some sort to balance *qbrw*, but such an interpretation would be contrived. Moreover, we have seen that the choice of prepositions and the pl./sing. juxtaposition suggest that the two clauses are adversatively related: "and they made his grave with wicked (men), but *bwmtw* (they put) with a rich (man)." This passage makes excellent sense if BMH carries the extended anatomical meaning "his body" (cf. Matt. 27:57-60).[1]

This leaves only 2 Sam. 1:19a and 25b upon which to base a claim for a strictly topographical meaning for the "secular" BMH. The passages are virtually identical:

haṣṣᵉbî yiśrā'ēl 'al bāmôtėkā ḫālāl (vs. 19a);

yᵉhônātān 'al bāmôtėkā ḫālāl (vs. 25b).

The word so obviously seems to refer to the site of the battle,

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[1] For a more complete elaboration, see W. B. Barrick, "The Rich Man from Arimathea (Matt. 27:57-60) and 1QIsa^{a}" (to appear shortly in *JBL*).

"the mountains of Gilboa" addressed in vs. 21, that even Vaughan is forced to accept the traditional topographical interpretation; he translates vs. 19a "thy glory, O Israel, is slain upon thy (mountain) slopes."[1] Such a rendering of the suffix-less *haṣṣᵉbî* is doubtful, however.[2]

Stanley Gevirtz and W. L. Holladay have attempted to apply an anatomical sense to BMH by comparing *bāmotėkā ḥālāl* to *bmwty ḥll* in 1QM 12:10 (and 19:3),[3] but in so doing must alter the consonantal text. Gevirtz' reconstruction is the more extreme: *hṣbw ʾlyh/ʾbl 'l bmwtyk ḥll*; "raise up a dirge over thy bodies of slain."[4] Holladay changes *haṣṣᵉbî* to *hinnāṣēb*, rendering "stand by, O Israel, over thy bodies of slain."[5] Despite the Qumran analogy, neither suggestion inspires much confidence.[6]

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[1] Vaughan, *Meaning*, p. 12.

[2] For similar translations, but without the intrusive suffix, cf., e.g., Dhorme, *Samuel*, p. 270; Driver, *Notes*, p. 235. See also pp. 277f. note 4 below.

[3] So also Mansoor, "Massoretic Text," p. 320.

[4] Gevirtz, *Patterns*, p. 81.

[5] Holladay, "Form and Word-Play," pp. 155ff., 163f.

[6] Only because of their reliance upon conjectural emendations. Ample precedents for a construct chain interrupted by a pronominal suffix are cited by Dahood, *Psalms III*, pp. 381ff., and D. N. Freedman, "The Broken Construct Chain," *Biblica*, LIII (1972), 534-536.

A far more attractive solution has been offered by David Noel Freedman who without emendation renders these passages:[1]

O gazelle of Israel, slain upon thy back (vs. 19a);

Jonathan, slain upon thy back (vs. 25b).

He regards ṢBY as a sobriquet for Jonathan,[2] paralleling *gibbôrîm* in vss. 19b and 25a; the prefixed *h* is a vocative particle.[3] It is impossible to be certain in so difficult a poem as this,[4] but clearly such an interpretation of these passages would be wholly consistent with the known semantic range of the "secular" BMH in biblical Hebrew usage; the customary topographical interpretation would be anomalous. For our purposes, therefore, the testimony of these two passages is, at best, equivocal.

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[1] D. N. Freedman, review of S. Gevirtz, *Patterns in the Early Poetry of Israel*, in *JBL*, LXXXIII (1964), 202. He does not explain the syntax of the refrain. Presumably ḤLL + 'L refers to the position of the body (i.e., "slain [while lying] upon thy back"), and not the location of the mortal wound. Note that by falling on his sword (1 Sam. 31:4) Saul would have been "slain [while lying] upon his stomach," hardly a heroic end.

[2] See especially his discussion in "Refrain in David's Lament," pp. 119f. For this use of *ṣ^{e}bî*, see also Gray, *Legacy*, p. 147 note 4; P. W. Miller, "Animal Names as Designations in Ugaritic and Hebrew," *UF*, II (1970), 185; Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, pp. 4f. note 6, 122f. note 34.

[3] Freedman, *JBL*, LXXXIII (1964), 202. So already E. G. King, *Early Religious Poetry of the Hebrews*, Cambridge Manual of Science and Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), p. 19, citing the excellent parallel *habbat y^{e}rûšālaim*, "O daughter of Jerusalem," in Lam. 2:13aα. Cf. Gesenius, *Hebrew Grammar*, p. 405.

[4] Freedman has since retracted this suggestion without explanation; in his latest treatment of the poem he favors "the gazelle, O Israel, is slain upon thy ridges" (vs. 19a) and "O Jonathan, slain upon thy ridges" (vs. 25b) ("Refrain in David's Lament," pp. 116, 117). Other commentators regard *haṣṣ^{e}bî yiśrā'ēl* as a simple construct chain: e.g., W. F. Albright, "The Earliest Forms of Hebrew Verse,"

JPOS, II (1922), 85 note 3, 86 (removing the "impossible article"); Miller, "Animal Names," p. 185; W. H. Shea, "David's Lament," *BASOR*, CCXXI (1976), 141. Stuart emends the text: *hy ṣb yśr’l š’l 'ly bmtk ḥll*; "woe Gazelle of Israel, Saul, slain upon your high places" (*Studies*, pp. 188, 190); likewise Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, pp. 122f. note 34. The addition of *š’l* is text-critically dubious, but the *hōy* reading would not unduely abuse the consonantal MT. Either of these understandings of *haṣṣᵉbî yiśrā’ēl* would suit the anatomical interpretation of *'al bāmôtékā ḥālāl* herein proposed.

CHAPTER VI

THE MEANING OF BMH AS A "CULTIC" WORD

The technical "cultic" meaning of BMH accounts for the great majority of the occurrences of the word in the Old Testament. It is evident from the little that the biblical writers tell us about them that bamoth were a commonplace in ancient Israel and played a major role in the religious life of a large segment of the population during most of the biblical period. The interpretation of the "cultic" BMH thus has direct consequences for the reconstruction of the history of Israelite religion and culture. Indeed, this has been the primary interest of previous scholarly treatments of the word.[1] But as noted at the outset of the present study, those treatments have proceeded from questionable methodological and presuppositional premises which have severely prejudiced their findings.

We have already seen that the identification of a bamah as an altar or cultic platform is inconsistent with the semantic limitations imposed by the syntax of the word in actual usage. Furthermore, since the probable semantic content of the "secular" BMH is anatomical, the etymological basis for assuming that a bamah might be an artificial "high place" has all but disappeared; while the architectural application of anatomical terms is not uncommon, it does not follow that a man-made installation called "back" would be a platform or similar raised structure.[1]

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[1] Thus, e.g., Vaughan devotes only three pages of text to an examination of the "secular" BMH (Meaning, pp. 9-12), while his discussion of the "cultic" term and the archaeological evidence spans over thirty-one pages (pp. 12-20, 29-44, 46-54).

The most popular conception of a bamah imagines a rural open-air cult place, possessing at least one altar, maşşebah (a cultic stone pillar), and asherah (a wooden representation of the goddess Asherah), laid out atop a lofty prominence in the Palestinian countryside, whence its name;[2] it is a rather primitive locus of religious expression, such as the site of the cultic activity which takes place upon Mt. Carmel (1 Kgs. 18:20-40) or those patronized by the Patriarchs and other early personages,[1] in contrast to the more sophisticated and more phenomenologically advanced urban sanctuary-building, or "temple."[2] Many commentators have adopted an even broader definition, maintaining that BMH denotes simply "local sanctuaries" of unspecified architectural type which became illegitimate with the erection of Solomon's Temple (cf. 1 Kgs. 3:2) or with the program of cultic centrali-

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[1] See, e.g., the architectural use of *şēlā'* in 1 Kgs. 6; cf. J. Ouellette, "The Yāşīa' and the Şelā'ōt: Two Mysterious Structures in Solomon's Temple," *JNES*, XXXI (1972), 187-191.

[2] This picture is absolutely axiomatic. To the encyclopedic treatments already cited (p. 3 note 3 above) may be added, e.g., L. B. Paton, "Canaanites," *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. by J. Hastings, III (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1910), 185f.; R. Kittel, *The Religion of the People of Israel*, trans. by R. C. Micklem (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1925), pp. 34ff.; S. A. Cook, *The Old Testament: A Reinterpretation* (New York: Macmillan, 1936), p. 147; E. Leslie, *Old Testament Religion in the Light of its Canaanite Background* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1936), pp. 32ff.; R. H. Pfeiffer, *Religion in the Old Testament* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961), pp. 89f.; G. H. Davies, "High Place, Sanctuary," *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. by G. A. Buttrick *et al*. (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), II, 602; I. Engnell, "Höjd, höjder," *Svenskt Bibliskt Uppslagsverk*, ed. by I. Engnell, Vol. I (Stockholm: Nordiska Uppslagsböcker, 1962), col. 1015; J. Lindblom, *Is-*

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raels Religion i Gammaltestamentlig Tid, 3d ed. (Stockholm: Diakronistyrelsens Bokförlag, 1964), pp. 75f., 98; M. Noth, The Old Testament World, trans. by V. I. Gruhn (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), pp. 177f.; H. Ringgren, Israelite Religion, trans. by D. E. Green (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), pp. 157f.

[1] E.g., Gen. 12:6ff.; 13:18; 14:13; 18:1ff.; 22:2; 28:10ff.; 31:13, 54; 35:4ff.; Ex. 17:15; Num. 23; Deut. 27:4ff.; Josh. 8:30ff.; 24:26; Judg. 4:5; 9:6.

[2] Thus, e.g., for I. Benzinger "BMH is a general name for a cult place without a temple-building" (Hebräische Archäologie, 3d ed., Angelos-Lehrbucher, I [Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1927], 315f. note 2 [translation supplied]). Similarly, according to H. Ringgren, "the public worship of the gods was carried out either out of doors on hills and in groves or in temples" ("The Religion of Ancient Syria," Historia Religionum, I, ed. by C. J. Bleeker and G. Widengren [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969], 210). Cf. also G. Fohrer, History of Israelite Religion, trans. by D. E. Green (New York: Abingdon Press, 1972), p. 57. Noth likewise speaks categorically of "city temples" and "rustic sanctuaries" (Old Testament World, pp. 177f.). Cf. the more refined variation of this dichotomous view proposed by P. Welten, "Kulthöhe und Jahwetempel," ZDPV, LXXXVIII (1972), especially 35ff.

zation pursued most notably by Josiah.[1] In both cases, however, the meaning of BMH is made contingent upon other exegetical decisions concerning the nature of Israelite religion and its historical development which may or may not be correct, but which BMH, thus defined, serves to confirm.[2]

This chapter will attempt to establish what a bamah might have been on the basis of the explicit references to these installations in the Old Testament and in the inscription of the Moabite king Mesha--the primary body of evidence for any such inquiry. It is intended as an exegetical survey of this data, and not a full-scale reconstruction of the bamah phenomenon and its place in Israelite history and culture.

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[1] Cf., e.g., M. Vernes, "Les plus anciens Sanctuaries des Israelites," RHR, V (1882), especially 45ff.; J. Wellhausen, Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel, Meridian Books edition (New York: World, 1957), pp. 17ff.; M. Noth, The History of Israel, 2d ed., revised translation by P. R. Ackroyd (New York: Harper & Row, 1960), pp. 275ff.; de Vaux, Ancient Israel, pp. 288, 331ff.; G. von Rad, Old Testament Theology, trans. by D. M. G. Stalker, I (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 22, 336; J. Bright, A History of Israel, 2d ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1972), pp. 316ff.; Fohrer, History of Israelite Religion, pp. 295f.; S. Hermann, A History of Israel, trans. by J. Bowden (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), pp. 268f. This is the view adopted by the rabbis: see Tr. Zebaḥim 118.2 and 119.1, and cf. the discussion by R. Brinker, The Influence of Sanctuaries in Early Israel, Publications of the University of Manchester, CCXCVIII (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1946), 44.

[2] We have already touched upon this problem in conjunction with the "deuteronomistic" hypothesis (see pp. 114ff. above); cf. also Barrick, "Funerary Character," p. 594. Archaeological discoveries have only confused matters by forcing scholars to bend these two basis understandings of the bamah phenomenon to accommodate an increasingly eclectic assemblage of remains; cf. pp. 375ff. and accompanying notes below.

VI.A. 1 Sam. 9:1-10:16

Nowhere in the biblical record are we given a more detailed picture of the bamah phenomenon than in this pericope. Its importance is underscored by the fact that the phenomenon is presented in a completely neutral light, without the hostility typical of the references in 1-2 Kings. Two specific bamah installations are described, and both are closely associated with urban centers (*'îr*).

VI.A.1. 1 Sam. 9:12, 13, 14, 19, 25

These verses refer to the bamah of an unnamed city in "the land of Zuph." It is commonly identified as Ramah, but this is uncertain. We are told that this city was situated on a natural elevation (vss. 11a, 14a) above a well (vs. 11), and was surrounded by a gated wall (vs. 18). The latter provides a criterion for establishing the location of the bamah vis-à-vis the city; it was either within the city proper inside the city-wall, or outside in the countryside. The critical consensus holds that the bamah was outside the city-wall. As George F. Moore puts it, the city "lay on the side of the hill, with its spring of water at the foot of the hill below it, and the place of sacrifice (the 'high place') above it on the summit."[1] This arrangement is thought to be characteristic of "popular" Canaanite and Israelite religion;[2] support has been adduced from latter-day Arab customs in Palestine,[3] and this view has become a cornerstone of modern reconstructions of the life and culture of the biblical world. However, a careful reading of the text of 1 Sam. 9 and a consideration of its probable compositional history lead to a rather different understanding.

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[1] Moore, "High Place," col. 2065. Similarly, e.g., A. F. Kirkpatrick, *The First Book of Samuel*, Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges, X (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1894), 101; Smith, *Samuel*, p. 62; Kennedy, *Samuel*, p. 80; Driver, *Notes*, p. 73; Oesterley, *Samuel*, p. 43; Caird, "Samuel," p. 926; de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, p. 284; Hertzberg, *I-II Samuel*, p. 82; Ackroyd, *First Book of Samuel*, p. 77; Schunck, "*bāmâ*," p. 141.

[2] Cf., e.g., W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 3d ed., with additional notes by S. A. Cook (London: A. and C. Black, 1927), p. 172; Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, p. 21; K. Yaron, "The Dirge over the King of Tyre," *ASTI*, III (1964), 43; Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, p. 102.

[3] This is especially evident in early discussions; typical is the statement by L. B. Paton: "At many places in modern Palestine all the rites of the primitive sanctuaries of Canaan are still kept up. In spite of the century-long opposition of official Judaism, Christianity and Muhammadanism, one may still say with the author of the Book of Kings, 'Nevertheless the high places are not taken away, the people still sacrifice and burn incense in the high places'" ("Survivals of Primitive Religion in Modern Palestine," *AASOR*, I [1920], 65). The reference is to the *weli*, or saint-shrine. Cf. also C. Clermont-Ganneau, "The Arabs in Palestine," *The Survey of Western Palestine: Special Papers*, ed. by W. Besant (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1881), pp. 325f.; C. R. Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine: A Record of Discovery and Adventure* (London: Alexander P. Watt, 1889), pp. 304ff.; S. I. Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion Today* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1902), pp. 133ff.; Prat, "Hauts-Lieux," cols. 451f.; R. A. S. Macalister, *A History of Civilization in Palestine*, Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature, XL (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), 32ff.; *idem*, *A Century of Excavation in Palestine* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1925), p. 274. The analogy has been brought to bear most recently to illustrate the funerary aspect of the bamah phenomenon emphasized by Albright (see "High Place," p. 253, and cf. *idem*, "Islam and the Religions of the An-

The clearest indication of the location of this bamah is vss. 13-14:

> *k^{e}bō’^{a}kem hā'îr kēn timṣ^{e}’ûn ’ōtô b^{e}ṭerem ya'^{a}leh habbāmātāh le’^{e}kōl kî lō’-yō’kal hā'ām 'adbō’ô kî-hû’ y^{e}bārēk hazzebaḥ ’ah^{a}rê-kēn yō’k^{e}lû haqq^{e}ru’îm, w^{e}'attâ '^{a}lû kî-’ōtô k^{e}hayyôm timṣ^{e}’ûn ’ōtô; wayya'^{a}lû hā'îr, hēmmâ bā’îm b^{e}tôk hā'îr w^{e}hinnēh š^{e}mû’ēl yōṣē’ liqrā’tām la'^{a}lôt habbāmâ*;
>
> when you enter the city then you will find him before he goes up to the bamah to eat, for the peo-

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cient Orient," *JAOS*, LX [1940], 283-301); see especially its use by J. Gray: e.g., *The Canaanites*, Ancient Peoples and Places, XXXVIII (London: Thames and Hudson, 1964), 66ff.; *idem*, "Hazor," *VT*, XVI (1966), 36; *idem*, "Sacral Kingship in Ugarit," *Ugaritica VI*, Mission de Ras Shamra, XVII (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1969), 300; *idem*, *I-II Kings*, p. 278. For the most part, however, the *weli* has given way to archaeological data as the most conspicuous extra-biblical factor overtly influencing the interpretation of BMH.

> ple will not eat until he arrives, for he will bless the sacrifice after which the summoned-ones will eat; no go up, for just now you will find him; and they went up (to) the city; they (were) entering into the midst of the city and, behold, Samuel (was) coming out to meet them (in order) to go up (to) the bamah.

Samuel is somewhere inside the city preparing to officiate at a cultic ceremony at the bamah. The two men meet, as predicted, inside the city as Samuel is "coming out" to go to the bamah. We are not told Samuel's point of embarkation; the present form of the narrative suggests that he was "coming out [of the gate]" (cf. vs. 18a), but this is contradicted by the statement that the encounter took place "in the midst of the city," presumably some distance from the gate. It is possible to imagine Samuel walking toward the gate from an unspecified location within the city to the bamah outside. But YṢ' implies actual, not anticipated, transition from one place to another,[1] and is twice used in the pericope with this sense:

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[1] Cf. Austel, "Prepositional and Non-Prepositional Complements," ch. 4.

hēmmâ 'ōlîm bᵉma'ᵃlēh hā'îr wᵉhēmmâ māṣᵉ’û nᵉ'ārôt yōṣᵉ’ôt liš’ōb māyim;
they (were) going up the slope of the city and
they found (some) girls coming out to draw water
(vs. 11a);

wayyāqom šā’ûl wayyēṣᵉ’û šᵉnêhem hû’ ušᵉmû’ēl hahûṣāh;
and Saul arose and he and Samuel together went
out to the outside (vs. 26b).

In the first example it is clear that the girls have just "come out [from the city/gate]" when they meet the travellers; in the second the two men "come out [from the building where Saul had spent the night]" and proceed on their journey (vs. 27). The most probable interpretation of Samuel's movement in vs. 14, therefore, is that he has "come out [from wherever he had been staying in the city]" and is walking up to the bamah. Vs. 6 suggests that he was a permanent resident of the city (cf. also vs. 10) who thus could be expected to have had a house of his own.

If this interpretation of vs. 14 is correct, the locus of the activity described in vss. 19-26--and thus of the bamah--

must be *inside* the city-wall. The first indication of a change of scene after vs. 14 is vs. 27aα: *hēmmâ yôr^{e}dîm biq^{e}sēh hā'îr*; "they (were) going down into the fringe of the city." As one ascended when going to the city (vss. 11a, 13f.), one descended when leaving it. The preposition B emphasizes the travellers' new location within the marginal area surrounding the city proper outside the wall.[1]

It was suggested in Chapter III.D that the conflict between vs. 14 and vs. 18a is best resolved by attributing them to different compositional strata within the present narrative. The meeting recounted in vss. 13-14 belongs to one (probably the earlier) stratum, the parallel version in vss. 12 and 18a to the other:

> *watta'^{a}nėtâ 'ôtām wattō'marnâ yēš hinnēh l^{e}pā-*
> *nėkā mahēr 'attâ kî hayyôm bā' lā'îr kî zebaẖ*
> *hayyôm lā'ām babbāmâ*;
> and they answered them and they said: He is,
> behold, (he is) before you; make haste, for to-

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[1] *Contra* Austel's rather forced suggestion that B has an ablative sense here: "they were just descending *from* the edge of the city," i.e., from the wall (*ibid*., pp. 173f.).

> day he has come to the city, for (there is to be) a sacrifice today for the people in the bamah (vs. 12);
>
> *wayyiggaš šā'ûl 'et-š^{e}mû'ēl b^{e}tôk haššā'ar*; and Saul drew near with Samuel in the midst of the gate (vs. 18a).

Both Saul and Samuel are walking up the road to the city; the girls point out the prophet and Saul overtakes him in the gate, as both men are entering the city. Here too the implication is that the bamah lay inside the city-wall.

Once the two men meet and Samuel introduces himself, he tells Saul *'^{a}lēh l^{e}pānay habbāmâ wa'^{a}kaltem 'immî hayyôm, w^{e}šillaḥtîkā babbōker w^{e}kōl '^{a}šer bil^{e}bābkā 'aggîd lāk*, "go up before me (to) the bamah and you will eat with me today, and I will discharge you in the morning and everything in your heart I will announce to you" (vs. 19aβ-b). The passage up to the bamah is not described, but according to vs. 22a, *wayyiqqaḥ š^{e}mû'ēl 'et-šā'ûl w^{e}'et-na'^{a}rô way^{e}bî'ēm liškātāh*, "and Samuel took Saul and his servant and brought them to (the) lishkah," where the meal was consumed. That the lishkah and the activity recounted in vss. 22b-24 were located at the bamah is clear from vs. 25a.

Nothing in the text would suggest that Samuel and his party went first to the bamah and then to the lishkah, a necessary inference if it is supposed that a bamah is a platform such as the examples commonly cited from Megiddo, Nahariyah, and Hazor.[1] We must conclude, therefore, that bāmâ and liškâ are synonyms, or that the lishkah was part of a larger bamah-complex.[2]

In the absence of etymological guidance,[3] the nature and function of the lishkah can only be inferred from context. This is the only occurrence of the word in conjunction with the bamah phenomenon and, not surprisingly, it is generally thought to refer here to little more than a dining-hall (cf. LXX, Targ.,

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[1] For a summary discussion of these platforms, see de Vaux, Ancient Israel, pp. 284; Vaughan, Meaning, pp. 40f., 46; Schunck, "bāmâ," pp. 141f. For full references, see Barrick, "Funerary Character," p. 575 notes 63-65. All three were used in conjunction with adjacent cult buildings.

[2] Not surprisingly, Vaughan concedes that in 1 Sam. 9 BMH is used "loosely" in the extended sense of "sanctuary," i.e., "the entire complex of building[s] that might surround [a bamah-platform]" (Meaning, p. 13).

[3] J. P. Brown thinks that liškâ is a Cypriot word, related to Gk. leschē, meaning "drinking-hall"; the building in 1 Sam. 9 was thus a "village pub" ("The Mediterranean Vocabulary of the Vine," VT, XIX [1969], 151ff.). C. H. Gordon thinks it is a Caphtorian Philistine word, also related to leschē, but of only general architectural signification ("Homer and the Bible," HUCA, XXVI [1955], 60f.). Cf. also Smith, Religion of the Semites, p. 254 note 6.

Vulg.).[1] Elsewhere it is used exclusively in reference to architectural components of the temple-complex in Jerusalem.[2] Some of these apparently housed temple-personnel;[3] others were used to store cultic equipment and offerings.[4] This diversity suggests that the word's significance as an architectural designation is determined more by location than by function, i.e., that liškâ may be the technical term for the more utilitarian elements of a temple-complex.[5] The lishkoth of the Jerusalem

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[1] Cf., e.g., Smith, Samuel, p. 64; Kennedy, Samuel, p. 82. According to Hertzberg, "the existence of [a lishkah], intended to offer protection against sun and rain, shows that the sanctuary is not an insignificant one" (I-II Samuel, p. 83). See further pp. 375f. below.

[2] The royal secretary's lishkah in the palace (Jer. 36:12, 20f.) was part of the same governmental compound (cf. Jer. 35:4).

[3] Jer. 35:2, 4; 36:10, 12, 20f.; Ezek. 40:44ff.; 45:5; 46:19; Neh. 13:4ff.; Ezra 10:6; 1 Chron. 9:33. It would be wrong to see these as no more than dormitories; cf. Ezek. 42:13.

[4] Ezek. 40:38; 44:19; Neh. 10:38ff.; 13:5, 9; Ezra 8:29; 1 Chron. 9:26; 28:12; 2 Chron. 31:11. Cf. also 2 Kgs. 23:11. It is clear from the context that we are dealing with more than just "storerooms."

[5] Cf. Ezek. 40:17; 41:5ff.; 42:1ff.; 1 Chron. 23:28. See also post-biblical usage: Jastrow, Dictionary, II, 720; Levy, Wörterbuch, II, 527. Oesterley suggestively remarks that "as there was a [lishkah] situated on the high-place for the purpose of partaking of the sacrificial mean, so, in later days, there were [lishkoth] close to the Temple for the same purpose" (Samuel, p. 45). Cf. also Moore, "High Place," col. 2065.

Temple are paralleled by the series of chambers adjoining the Israelite temple-complex in the fortress at Arad,[1] and presumably would have been characteristic of the genre.

It is possible that the Old Testament speaks of a lishkah connected with a temple-complex other than that in Jerusalem. We are told in 1 Sam. 3-18 that eating and drinking were part of the sacrificial festivities at the "temple of Yahweh" (*hêkal* YHWH [vs. 9b]) at Shiloh.[2] Vs. 18b states that at the conclusion of Hannah's conversation with Eli "before Yahweh" (i.e., in the temple proper [vs. 12]) *wattēlek hā'iššâ l^{e}darkāh wattō'kal ûpānėhâ lō'-hāyû-lāh 'ôd*, "and the woman went on her way and she ate and her face was no longer sad." The LXX has a somewhat different version of the passage: *kai eporeuthē hē gunē eis tēn hodon autēs kai eisēlthen eis to kataluma autēs kai ephage meta tou andros autēs kai epie kai to prosōpon autēs ou sunepesen eti*; "and the woman went her way and she entered her lodging and she ate with her husband and she drank and her countenance was no longer sad." Mention of the husband and the drinking is doubtless exegetical license inspired by vss. 8f., and this explanation could suffice for *kai eisēlthen eis to kataluma autēs* as well.[1] The possibility does exist, however, that the phrase reflects a Hebrew *Vorlage* containing *wattābō' halliškātāh*, "and she went to the lishkah [and ate]."[2]

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[1] See Y. Aharoni, "Arad: Its Inscriptions and Temple," *BA*, XXXI (1968), 2-32. He notes (p. 11): "Several ostraca were found in rooms bounding the temple and apparently connected with it. Seven are a sort of slip [which] most probably served as lots for the priestly terms, such as indicated in the Bible for the Jerusalem temple."

[2] And also at the "house of god" at Shechem (Judg. 9:27); cf. Amos 2:8b.

At the conclusion of the meal at the lishkah in 1 Sam. 9:22-24 the MT relates the following episode:

> *way^{e}dabbēr 'îm-šā'ûl 'al-haggāg; wayyaškîmû wa-*
> *y^{e}hî ka'^{a}lôt haššaḫar wayyiqrā' š^{e}mû'ēl 'el-šā'ûl*
> *haggāgāh*[3] *lē'môr qûmâ wa'^{a}sall^{e}ḫekā, wayyāqom*
> *šā'ûl wayyēṣ^{e}'û š^{e}nêhem hû' ûš^{e}mû'ēl haḫûṣāh*;
> and [Samuel] spoke with Saul upon the roof; and
> they arose early, and it was at the break of

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[1] Cf., e.g., Smith, *Samuel*, pp. 11f.; de Boer, *Research*, p. 57. Hertzberg accepts the "husband," but rejects the "lishkah" (*I-II Samuel*, p. 22).

[2] Cf. Wellhausen, *Text der Bücher Samuelis*, p. 39; Budde, *Samuel*, pp. 52f. (cf. *idem*, *Bücher Samuel*, pp. 9f.); Dhorme, *Samuel*, p. 22; Driver, *Notes*, p. 15; Oesterley, *Samuel*, p. 4. Ackroyd uses the Arad complex to illustrate the "temple of Yahweh" at Shiloh (*First Book of Samuel*, p. 24), but wrongly identifies the lishkah as the "temple-room" (p. 23).

[3] *Qere*.

> dawn and Samuel called (up) to the roof to
> Saul, saying: Get up and I will discharge
> you; and Saul arose and he and Samuel together
> went out to the outside (vss. 25b-26).

The text is very problematic; the LXX points to a Hebrew original beginning *wayyirbᵉdû lᵉšā'ûl 'al-haggāg wayyiškāb*, "and [Samuel] prepared (a bed) for Saul upon the roof and he lay down," which may be preferable.[1] Whatever the details, Saul spends the night on the roof of a building. It is unclear where this building is, the only clue being the introductory statement: *wayyērᵉdû mēhabbāmâ hā'îr*; "and they came down from the bamah (to) the city" (vs. 25a). It is generally assumed that Saul and Samuel left the bamah and moved to the latter's house in the city.[2] It is equally possible, however, that the reference is to the departure of the other guests, in which case Saul would have spent the night at the bamah, on the roof of the lishkah.[3] Certainty in this matter is impossible, and it is likely that the compositional history of the pericope accounts for much of the ambiguity.

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[1] So virtually all commentators.

[2] "Das es sich um Samuels Haus handelt, ergiebt sich aus dem Zusammenhang" (Budde, *Bücher Samuel*, p. 65).

[3] As suggested by Merrill, "I Samuel 1-12: A Traditio-Historical Study," pp. 158f.

An assessment of the cultic activities which took place at this bamah installation is likewise complicated by the composite character of the present narrative. We are told that there is to be a "sacrifice" (*zebaḥ*) at the bamah (vs. 12b), but that Samuel is to go up to the bamah "to eat" (vs. 13aα); he is to "bless the sacrifice" (vs. 13aβ), but neither the sacrifice nor its blessing is described. In the present narrative, at least, the focus of attention is the meal at which Saul is honored (vss. 22-24) and which is presumed to have been preceded by the sacrificial act itself (vs. 13a). A similar combination of sacrifice and eating at the "temple of Yahweh" at Shiloh (1 Sam. 1:3-18) has already been noted. According to Ex. 34:15, this was a common practice of the "inhabitants of the land" of Canaan; in Num. 25:2 the daughters of Moab "summoned the people to the sacrifice of their gods, and the people ate, and they worshipped their gods." In both of these passages one is "summoned" (QR’) to the proceedings, as are Saul's tablemates in 1 Sam. 9:13, 22-24. Jesse and his sons are "summoned" by Samuel to the sacrifice at Bethlehem (1 Sam. 16:3, 5), and this idea no doubt underlies the "command" (ṢWH) of David's brother that he attend the yearly "clan sacrifice" (*zebaḥ mišpāḥâ*) in (B) that city (20:6, 29). It is quite possible that such an occasion is envisioned in 1 Sam. 9.[1]

VI.A.2. 1 Sam. 10:5, 13

As Saul is leaving, Samuel predicts that he will meet two men by Rachel's Tomb who will tell him that the lost asses have been found, and three men by the Oak of Tabor who will give him bread, and finally:

> *'aḥar kēn tābô' gib'at hā'ᵉlōhîm 'ᵃšer-šām nᵉṣibê pᵉlištîm, wîhî kᵉbō'ᵃkā šām hā'îr ûpāga'tā ḥebel nᵉbî'îm yōrᵉdîm mēhabbāmâ wᵉlipᵉnêhem nēbel wᵉtōp wᵉḥālil wᵉkinnôr wᵉhēmmâ mitnabbᵉ'îm*;
>
> after that you will enter/come to Gibeath-Elohim where (there is) a garrison[2] of Philistines, and it will come to pass when you (are) entering there, (that is,) the city that you will encounter a band of prophets coming down from

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[1] Cf. M. Haran, "*zebaḥ hayyamîm*," *VT*, XIX (1969), 11-22 (especially 17f.).

[2] For a discussion of the possibilities, see Driver, *Notes*, p. 80.

> the bamah preceded by harp and tambourine and
> flute and lyre and they (will be) prophesying
> (10:5).

The semantic implications of the BW' + 0 construction are more varied with place-names than with common nouns,[1] and thus it is unclear whether "Gibeath-Elohim"[2] is to be "entered" or "approached" in vs. 5a. This ambiguity is of no consequence for our purposes, since this passage belongs to the original folktale which did not include the episode with the prophets.[3] In the revised version of the story, however, this ambiguity is removed by vs. 5bα; Saul is to "enter the city" (= BW' + 0 + *hā'îr*)[4] which is identified as Gibeath-Elohim (*šām*). Accordingly, Saul is to be inside the city when he meets the prophets leaving the bamah.

This conclusion is not contradicted by vs. 10a: *wayyabō'û*

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[1] Cf. Austel, "Prepositional and Non-Prepositional Complements," ch. 2, especially p. 79.

[2] The use of BW' + 0 which implies "entry" precludes seeing *gib'at hăʼᵉlōhîm* as a common noun, since a "hill" (as distinct from a hilly region) cannot be "entered."

[3] See Chapter III.D above.

[4] The final sequence of events is thus "approach" (vs. 5a) and "entry" (vs. 5b). Note that this conclusion is facilitated by, but not contingent upon, our compositional analysis.

šām haggib'ātāh wᵉhinnēh ḥebel-nᵉbî'îm liqrā'tô. The juxtaposition of *šām* and *haggib'ātāh* has been thought unnecessarily redundant, and many commentators follow the LXX and read *miššām*, i.e., Saul "came thence to Gibeah" and met the prophets.[1] What is missing here, however, is an indication that the meeting took place where it was supposed to. The MT makes excellent sense if *šām* is seen as a reference to the exact location predicted in vs. 5b: "and they came (to) there [= to that spot near the bamah] at Gibeah and, behold, a band of prophets (did) meet him."[2]

That prophets were associated with bamah installations is documented only here.[3] Prophets were important members of temple establishments in Israel as elsewhere in the ancient Near East; the clearest biblical evidence naturally concerns the Temple establishment in Jerusalem.[4] Johannes Lindblom suggests that the ecstatics in whose company Saul began to prophesy were cultic functionaries at this bamah.[1] It is more likely that they came from elsewhere, for it appears from vs. 12a that their "father" (i.e., prophet-master) was unknown to the townspeople.[2]

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[1] So, e.g., Budde, Smith, Kennedy, Dhorme, Driver, Kittel, Leimbach, de Vaux, Hertzberg.

[2] For a different explanation, see Schmidt, *Menschlicher Erfolg und Jahwes Initiative*, pp. 116f.

[3] The Samuel of 1 Sam. 9 is hardly an ecstatic such as we meet here (and in 19:18-24).

[4] Cf. Jer. 23:11; 26:7, 16; 29:26; Lam. 2:20; 1 Chron. 25:1ff.; 2 Chron. 29:30; 35:15.

The final reference to this bamah is vs. 13: *way^{e}kal mē-hitnabbôt wayyābō' habbāmâ*; "and he finished prophesying and he entered the bamah." The subsequent conversation between Saul and his "uncle" (vss. 14-16) thus took place inside the bamah. Nothing in the preceding narrative seems to anticipate this episode. Why should an anonymous "uncle" suddenly be introduced at this point in the story; what is he doing inside the bamah; and why does Saul visit him immediately upon concluding his ecstatic transformation?[3] Miller attempts to clarify the situation by attributing vss. 13-16 to the later redactor who put the books of Samuel in their present form; the gloss was a necessary transition to the story of the choosing of Saul at

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[1] J. Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1962), p. 79.

[2] Cf. A. Phillips, "The Ecstatics' Father," *Words and Meanings: Essays Presented to David Winton Thomas*, ed. by P. R. Ackroyd and B. Lindars (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 183-194.

[3] Kirkpatrick recognizes the problem and speculates that Saul went to the bamah to worship and met his "uncle" who was there "for some public solemnity, at which the prophets also had been present" (*First Book of Samuel*, p. 109).

Mizpah which follows immediately in his arrangement of the material.[1] The "uncle" was created ex nihilo to express the editor's "awareness on the one hand that Saul's search for the donkeys had led him finally to Gibeah, which was to become Saul's capital and remembered by later generations as his home, yet his awareness on the other hand that Gibeah was not the home of Saul's father."[2] But this explanation requires reading haggib'â in place of habbāmâ,[3] a change which we have found to have insufficient text-critical justification.[4] According to D. R. Ap-Thomas, Saul's "uncle" was the Philistine governor of Gibeath-Elohim/Gibeah whom Saul had been sent to overthrow.[5] This would be possible only if haggib'â is read, or if the original folk-tale version of the story (the stratum to which the Philistine engagement belongs) also knew of a bamah at this city. It is somewhat surprising, however, that the governor would be headquartered in a sanctuary. This location would not be difficult to understand if dōd ("uncle") refers to a deity or important cultic personage.[1] For purposes of this discussion the matter must be left unresolved.[2]

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[1] Miller, "Saul's Rise to Power," p. 160.

[2] Ibid.

[3] This criticism applies also to Schmidt's division of the sources (Menschlicher Erfolg und Jahwes Initiative, p. 86).

[4] See Chapter III.D above (especially pp. 104ff.).

[5] D. R. Ap-Thomas, "Saul's 'Uncle'," VT, XI (1961), 241-245. This explanation has been adopted by Merrill, "I Samuel 1-12: A Traditio-Historical Study," p. 166.

VI.B. The Bamoth of North Israel

Nineteen occurrences of the "cultic" BMH associate the bamah phenomenon with North Israel.[3] Most are specific references to such installations in Bethel and in "the cities of Samaria," and to bamoth-priests (kōh^{a}nê-bāmôt) officiating there. These are found in historiographical contexts reflecting Judaean and Jerusalemite antagonism toward the north; for the most part they belong to the "Josianic" stratum of 1-2 Kings.[4] They may be compared to the independent testimony of Amos and Hosea, both of whom spoke against the northern bamoth during the reign of Jeroboam II.

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[1] W. C. Graham and H. G. May see him as the local priest-king of the city-state (Culture and Conscience: An Archaeological Study of the New Religious Past in Ancient Palestine [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936], p. 170); Ackroyd thinks he is a cultic official (First Book of Samuel, p. 86). Cf. also Ahlström, Psalm 89, pp. 163ff., especially p. 169.

[2] A large measure of the ambiguity is doubtless due to the compositional history of the pericope, a complete analysis of which cannot be attempted here.

[3] Exclusive of 1 Sam. 9-10 and Ps. 78:58.

[4] See Chapter III.G above.

VI.B.1. In Bethel

2 Kgs. 23:15 records the destruction of the sanctuary at Bethel in the course of the Josianic reform:

> *w^{e}gam ’et-hammizbēaḥ ’^{a}šer b^{e}bêt-’ēl habbāmâ*
> *’^{a}šer 'āśâ yārob'ām ben-n^{e}bāṭ ’^{a}šer heḥ^{e}ṭî’ ’et-*
> *yiśrā’ēl gam ’et-hammizbēaḥ hahû’ w^{e}’et-habbāmâ*
> *nātāṣ, wayyiśrōp ’et-habbāmâ hēdaq l^{e}'āpār w^{e}-*
> *śārap ’^{a}šērâ*.

According to vs. 15aγ-b, if the text is sound,[1] Josiah destroyed three things: an altar, a bamah, and an Asherah-emblem.[2] It is clear from this that in vs. 15aα-β *hammizbēaḥ* cannot be an appositional synonym of *habbāmâ* except *pars pro toto*; the latter, consequently, should perhaps be seen as a further definition of the altar's location *b^{e}bêt-’ēl*.[3] The verse may thus be translated:

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[1] See Chapter III.G.3 above.

[2] Cf. W. L. Reed, *The Asherah in the Old Testament* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1949), p. 95.

[3] For such appositional constructions, cf., e.g., Ex. 3:1; Judg. 18:15; Jer. 37:15; Zech. 6:10. Alternatively, KJV and some commentators (e.g., I. W. Slotki, *Kings*, Soncino Books of the Bi-

and even the altar in (the sanctuary at) Bethel,

the bamah-sanctuary, which Jeroboam-ben-Nebat had

made (by) which[1] he caused Israel to sin--even

that altar and the bamah [Josiah] tore down, and

he burned the bamah (and) he ground (it/them) to

dust[2] and he burned Asherah.

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ble [London: Soncino Press, 1950], p. 307) supply a conjunction: "the altar that was at Bethel, and the high place which Jeroboam . . . had made." Assuming that the altar would have stood upon the bamah, W. Rudolph suggests that ’el (in the sense of 'al) has fallen out through haplography ("Zum Text der Königsbücher," ZAW, LXIII [1951], 215), but this solution is mooted by our syntactical findings; the altar would have been in the bamah.

[1] For this force of ’^{a}šer, cf. Deut. 7:19. Note that, with the possible exception of 2 Kgs. 22:53f., every other occurrence of the clause ’^{a}šer heḥ^{e}ṭî’ ’et-yiśrā’ēl in conjunction with Jeroboam refers not to Jeroboam himself ("who"), but to his "sin(s)": 1 Kgs. 14:16; 15:26, 30, 34; 16:26; 2 Kgs. 3:3; 10:29, 31; 13:2, 6, 11; 14:24; 15:9, 18, 28. Cf. 1 Kgs. 16:13, 19; 2 Kgs. 21:16f.

[2] This clause is problematic. It is not syntactically joined to the rest of the verse, and the object of the verbal action is unspecified. DQQ (in Hiphil) elsewhere describes the "grinding" of small items (Ex. 30:36; 2 Sam. 22:43; Micah 4:13; cf. Isa. 28:28), especially asherim and other cultic objects (2 Kgs. 23:6; 2 Chron. 15:16; 34:4, 7). If habbāmâ is "the bamah-sanctuary" in which the altar and asherah were situated, it is not very likely that it is the object of DQQ. The reference must be either to the altar or to the asherah (or, conceivably, to the pieces of the "torn down" altar and bamah; cf. LXX). That the asherah is intended is suggested by the "burning" and "grinding to dust" of the asherah-emblem from the Jerusalem Temple in vs. 6, in which case the order of the last two clauses should be reversed: so Skinner, Kings, p. 422; Benzinger, Könige, p. 194. The syntactical isolation of hēdaq l^{e}'āpār raises the possibility that it may be a marginal gloss inspired by vs. 6 which was misplaced in the text early in transmission. Montgomery

The "tearing down" (NTṢ) of both the altar and the bamah duplicates Jehu's treatment of the maṣṣebah and temple-complex (*bayit*) of Baal in Samaria (2 Kgs. 10:27); the "burning" (ŚRP) of the bamah recalls the destruction of the Temple- and palace-complexes and of the other "great houses" (*bêt gādôl*, *ʼarm^{e}nôt*) of Jerusalem (2 Kgs. 25:9; Jer. 39:8; 52:13; 2 Chron. 36:19), and the promised destruction of the temples (*bayit*) of Egypt (Jer. 43:12f.).[1]

The establishment of this sanctuary by Jeroboam I is recorded in 1 Kgs. 12:26-33. Although Dan is mentioned as the location of one of the golden calves (vs. 29b) and the destination of a cultic procession by the people (vs. 30b),[2] the focus of attention in the narrative is Bethel and its altar which Jeroboam had made (vs. 33a).[3] After the disposition of the calves we are told:

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considers the asherah reference to be secondary (*Kings*, p. 534).

[1] Cf. also the fate of the palace-complex at Tirzah (1 Kgs. 16:18).

[2] Cf. E. Nielsen, *Shechem: A Traditio-Historical Investigation* (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad, 1959), pp. 195f., and R. de Vaux, "The Religious Schism of Jeroboam I," *The Bible and the Ancient Near East*, trans. by D. McHugh (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1971), pp. 98f.

[3] Compositionally, *hammizbēaḥ ʼ^{a}šer-'āśâ b^{e}bêt-ʼēl* in vs. 33a anticipates *hammizbēaḥ . . . ʼ^{a}šer 'āśâ yārob'ām ben-n^{e}bāṭ* in 2 Kgs. 23:15a (as indicated in our punctuation of the latter).

> *wayya'aś ʼet-bêt bāmôt, wayya'aś kōh^{a}nîm miq-*
> *ṣôt hā'ām ʼ^{a}šer lō'-hāyû mibb^{e}nê lēwî*;
> and [Jeroboam] made *bêt-bāmôt*, and he made
> priests from among[1] the people who were not
> from the sons of Levi (vs. 31).

Commentators almost without exception have seen in *bêt-bāmôt* a reference to the multiplicity of "local shrines" in North Israel by reading *bāttê-bāmôt* or otherwise explaining away the apparent singularity of the phrase.[2] Accordingly, vs. 31a would be a "deuteronomistic" intrusion, since it is not concerned with Bethel and seemingly reflects the standard "deuteronomistic" repudiation of hetero-locational worship.[3] This explanation is unnecessarily contrived. There is absolutely no reason to question the textual integrity of *bêt-bāmôt*[1] or to deny its singularity,[2] especially since to do so forces the passage into conflict with its context. The plain meaning of vs. 31a is that the sanctuary at Bethel, identified as a bamah in 2 Kgs. 23:15, possessed a beth-bamoth erected by its royal founder.[3]

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[1] Lit. "from the end of." The neutral (or even positive) connotations of the phrase are stressed by S. Talmon, "Divergences in Calendar-Reckoning in Ephraim and Judah," *VT*, VIII (1958), 51. Cf. Gen. 47:2; Num. 22:41; Ezek. 33:2.

[2] Cf., e.g., Skinner, *Kings*, p. 192; Burney, *Notes*, p. 178; Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, p. 131; A. Šanda, *Die Bücher der Könige*, EHAT, IX, pt. 1 (Münster: Aschendorf, 1911), 344; Montgomery, *Kings*, p. 259; Snaith, "I-II Kings," p. 119; Noth, *Könige*, p. 268; Gray, *I-II Kings*, p. 313 note i; J. Robinson, *The Second Book of Kings*, Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 156. According to Slotki, the pl. reference is to the "temples in which the golden calves or their altars were set up" (*Kings*, p. 97).

[3] See, e.g., Nielsen, *Shechem*, p. 197. Evans argues that the "pre-deuteronomistic" report of Jeroboam's actions contained a reference to Bethel (= *wayya'aś bêt*- of the present narrative) which the "deuteronomist" modified by introducing *bāmôt* ("Jeroboam as Para-

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digm," pp. 113ff.). In a passage consisting of only four words the cogency of such redactional hair-splitting must be questioned.

[1] The LXX's *oikous eph' hupsēlōn* is cited in support of a pl. reading, but this rendering is unique (cf. 1 Kgs. 13:32 and 2 Kgs. 23:19: *oikous tous hupsēlous*/*tōn hupsēlōn*) and clearly interpretive. Evans suggests *bayit babbāmôt* as the correct reading of the present "deuteronomistic" account ("Jeroboam as Paradigm," pp. 114f.). The compound phrase is firmly established, however, and should not be broken up emendationally without definitive text-critical justification; against Evans' use of the LXX's rendering for this purpose (*ibid*., p. 114 note 1), one could cite the Targ. which duplicates the MT. The form *bêt-bāmôt* should not arouse suspicion; it is merely the indefinite form of *bêt-habbāmôt* (2 Kgs. 17:29, 32), as *kōhᵃnê-bāmôt* (1 Kgs. 13:33b; 2 Kgs. 17:32) is the indefinite of *kōhᵃnê-habbāmôt* (1 Kgs. 12:32b; 13:2b; 2 Kgs. 23:20a). For the use of *ʾet* before the indefinite, cf. 1 Kgs. 16:18 (the reference is to a particular "palace," as our text refers to a particular beth-bamoth).

[2] Gesenius does cite several precedents for taking *bêt-(hab)-bāmôt* as a pl. construction (*Hebrew Grammar*, p. 401). If one adopts this view, *bāttê-(hab)bāmôt* (1 Kgs. 13:32; 2 Kgs. 23:19) would be a synonymous by-form. *Prima facie*, however, *bāttê-(hab)bāmôt* would the pl. of *bêt-(hab)bāmôt*.

[3] So de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, p. 335; *idem*, "Religious Schism of Jeroboam I," p. 105 and note 38; B. Levine, "Cult Places, Israelite," *Encyclopedia Judaica* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1971), Vol. V, col. 1164. Nielsen, who attributes vs. 31a to secondary "deuteronomistic" redaction, agrees that "the present arrangement of the text" regards "Bethel as a large-scale bamah" (*Shechem*, p. 197).

Virtually nothing is known about the architectural composition of the Bethel sanctuary during the Monarchy.[1] Amos' eyewitness testimony mentions an altar and also "capitals" (kaptôr) and "thresholds" (sippîm), suggestive of a complex of some complexity and architectural sophistication (9:1).[2] Its proximity to Jerusalem and the circumstances which reputedly prompted its establishment (1 Kgs. 12:26ff.) make it reasonable to suppose that it may have resembled Solomon's Temple-complex to some degree.[3]

VI.B.2. In the Cities of Samaria

After destroying the sanctuary at Bethel, Josiah is said to have turned his attention to other North Israelite bamah installations:

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[1] Archaeology has thus far failed to illuminate this question and, according to the excavator, "until the temple is found it is not wise for a serious historian to speculate about it" (J. L. Kelso et al., The Excavations of Bethel [1934-1960], AASOR, XXXIX [Cambridge, Mass.: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1968], 51). There is no reason to assume, with Kelso (p. 37) and others (e.g., de Vaux, Ancient Israel, p. 335), that it lay on a hill somewhere outside the city proper.

[2] Cf. Zeph. 2:14. On the terminology, see Hammershaimb, Amos, p. 131; Ouellette, "Shaking of the Thresholds," pp. 23-27.

[3] Cf. Isa. 6:4. Ouellette assumes that "the basic plan of the temple at Bethel reproduced the plan of the Jerusalem temple" ("Shaking of the Thresholds," p. 26).

> *w^{e}gam ʼet-kol-bāttê habbāmôt ʼ^{a}šer b^{e}'ārê šōmrôn ʼ^{a}šer 'āśû malkê yiśrāʼēl l^{e}hak'îs hēsîr yōʼšîyāhû, wayya'aś lāhem k^{e}kol-hamma'^{a}śîm ʼ^{a}šer 'āśâ b^{e}bêt-ʼēl*;
>
> and even all *bāttê-habbāmôt* in the cities of Samaria which the kings of Israel had made to provoke [Yahweh][1] to anger Josiah removed, and he did to them like all the doings which he did in Bethel (2 Kgs. 23:19).

This text records the fulfillment of the prophecy in 1 Kgs. 13:32:

> *kî hāyōh yihyeh haddābār ʼ^{a}šer qārāʼ bid^{e}bar YHWH 'al-hammizbēaḥ ʼ^{a}šer b^{e}bêt-ʼēl, w^{e}'al kol-bāttê habbāmôt ʼ^{a}šer b^{e}'ārê šōmrôn*;
>
> for the word which [the man-of-god from Judah] proclaimed by the word of Yahweh against the altar in Bethel, and against all *bātte-habbāmôt* in the cities of Samaria, will surely come to pass.

It is clear from the context that *bāttê-habbāmôt* is a pl. construction and that the reference is to urban installations. Having been "made" by the "kings of Israel," as was the installation at Bethel, they presumably served some official purpose.[1]

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[1] Restored by all commentators following the Versions; but cf. 2 Kgs. 21:6 and Montgomery, *Kings*, p. 541.

According to 2 Kgs. 17:29, these installations were taken over by the foreign peoples imported by Assyria to repopulate Samaria and its cities (cf. vss. 24, 26) after the fall of the Northern Kingdom:

> *wayyihyû 'ōśîm gôy gôy ’^{e}lōhāyw, wayyanniḥû b^{e}-*
> *bêt habbāmôt ’^{a}šer 'āśû haššōmrōnîm gôy gôy b^{e}-*
> *'ārêhem ’^{a}šer hēm yōš^{e}bîm šām*;
> and each people was making its god(s), and they installed (it/them)[2] in *bêt habbāmôt* which the Samarians had made, each people in their cities

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[1] At least in the eyes of the author of this text. It is impossible to suppose that these were royal benefactions for the furtherance of the "popular" religion of the country-folk.

[2] For this sense of the verb, cf. 2 Chron. 4:8. Citing Ugar. *nḥt*, Gray thinks of "idols set up on pedestals" (*I-II Kings*, p. 653). In this connection, note Esarhaddon's general repatriation of the captured deities of the subdued peoples of the empire: "(I am he) who returned the pillages gods of the countries from Assyria and Elam to their shrines, who let them stay in comfortable quarters until he completed temples (for them), and could set the gods upon daises as a lasting abode. In all cult centers, (it was) I, who established the necessary accessories" (as translated by M. Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion: Assyria, Judah and Israel in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.E.*, Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series, XIX [Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1974], 39).

where they (were) living.

If *bêt-habbāmôt* is accepted as a singular construction,[1] the sense of the passage would be that each city now inhabited by the newcomers possessed its own beth-bamoth. Vss. 30f. enumerate the various gods which these peoples "made" for themselves.[2] The specificity of the list and the wording of vs. 29 suggest that some measure of religious individuality was retained in the resettlement program, at least in its initial stages;[3] the picture is of different peoples living in different cities and worshipping their own particular gods in the manner of their homeland (cf. vss. 33f., 40).

But they also worshipped Yahweh, in "the proper manner of the god of the land (of Israel)" (vss. 26f.):

> *wayyihyû y^{e}rē'îm 'et-YHWH, wayya'^{a}śû lāhem miqṣôtām kōh^{a}nê bāmôt wayyihyû 'ōśîm lāhem b^{e}bêt habbāmôt*;

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[1] With LXX and Targ., but against modern commentators; cf. pp. 305f. and accompanying notes above.

[2] For the deities, cf. Montgomery, *Kings*, pp. 473ff.; Gray, *I-II Kings*, pp. 654f.

[3] For the historical context, see the important discussion by Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion*, especially ch. 3.

> but they were fearing Yahweh, and they made for themselves from among themselves bamoth-priests and they were officiating for them in bêt habbāmôt (vs. 32).

The narrator leaves no doubt that their "fear of Yahweh" was due entirely to the presence of a native North Israelite priest at Bethel (vs. 28),[1] and that this was separate from their "serving" ('BD) their own gods (vss. 33, 41). The implication would seem to be that the sing. bêt habbāmôt[2] refers to the restored sanctuary at Bethel,[3] and that the new-comers, not withstanding the battim-bamoth in their respective cities, felt an attachment to that sanctuary.[1]

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[1] Cf. S. M. Paul, "Sargon's Administrative Diction in II Kings 17:27," JBL, LXXXVIII (1969), 73-74, and Cogan, Imperialism and Religion, pp. 106f. Cogan makes an attractive case for Esarhaddon as the Assyrian king who repatriated the priest (p. 106 note 56); this would place the event c. 689-680, conceivably within the lifetime of some of Josiah's senior advisors. Note that the excavators believe that Bethel "remained unoccupied until near the end of the Assyrian period when the shrine was revived" (Kelso et al., Excavations of Bethel, p. 37). Could not this relatively recent revival, rather than a long-standing grudge, be the motivation for Josiah's exceptionally harsh treatment of Bethel?

[2] With the LXX and Targ., but against modern commentators; cf. pp. 305f. and accompanying notes above.

[3] So de Vaux, "Religious Schism of Jeroboam I," p. 109 note 49. His view that this sanctuary "became a kind of pantheon in which the foreign settlers placed their gods side by side with Yahweh" assumes that bêt habbāmôt in vs. 29 refers to Bethel and not, as seems more likely, to "their cities where they (were) living."

VI.B.3. The Bamoth-Priests of North Israel

If the preceding observations are correct, the bamoth-priests "made" by the foreign settlers "from among themselves" (*miqṣôtām*)[2] would have constituted the priesthood servicing the beth-bamoth at Bethel. In so doing the new-comers, doubtless at the direction of the repatriated North Israelite priest, were following the custom inaugurated by the founder of that sanctuary:

> *w^{e}he'^{e}mîd b^{e}bêt 'ēl 'et-kōh^{a}nê habbāmôt '^{a}šer 'āśâ*;
>
> and [Jeroboam] stationed[3] in Bethel the bamoth-

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[1] This is perfectly clear from the circumstances surrounding the priest's presence at Bethel (vss. 24-28). The new-comers, settled in "the cities of Samaria," petition Assyria to assuage the local god of the country (= Yahweh) who is sending lions to ravage them. In response the priest is dispatched not to "the cities of Samaria" where the problem is, or even to the provincial capital at Samaria, but to Bethel to "instruct" the settlers in the proper worship of Yahweh. This response presupposes that "the cities of Samaria" were accustomed to acknowledge the special status of Bethel in matters pertaining to the god of the country.

[2] On this term, see p. 305 note 1 above.

[3] For this sense of the verb, cf. Num. 11:24; Isa. 21:6; Neh. 13:11; 2 Chron. 19:4.

priests which he had made (1 Kgs. 12:32b).

These are presumably the same "priests from among the people" (*kōh^{a}nîm miqṣôt hā'ām*) which the king "made" in vs. 31b. According to 1 Kgs. 13:33b, the candidates were not confined to the pre-existing priestly orders:

> *wayyāšob wayya'aś miqṣôt hā'ām kōh^{a}nê bāmôt hehāpēṣ y^{e}mallē' 'et-yādô wîhî kōh^{a}nê bāmôt*;
>
> and [Jeroboam] continued to make[1] from among the people bamoth-priests--whoever (was so) inclined [Jeroboam] would fill his hand and he became a bamoth-priest.[2]

There is no reason to suppose that the reference here is to a different priesthood than that mentioned in the other two passages.

That bamoth-priests actually took part in the cultic performances at Bethel is clear from 1 Kgs. 13:2b:

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[1] Lit. "he (re)turned and he made." Montgomery would have Jeroboam do so because he was no longer able to perform the cultic services himself (*Kings*, p. 262); this seems impossible in view of 12:31b and 32b.

[2] Reading the sing. with LXX, Pesh., and Vulg. to agree with *hehāpēṣ* and *wîhî* (so Skinner, Burney, Šanda, Montgomery, Noth, Gray). Targ. supports the pl. The basic sense of the passage is the same with either reading.

> *hinnēh-bēn nôlād l^{e}bêt-dāwid yō'šîyāhû š^{e}mô w^{e}-zābaḥ 'ālėkā 'et-kōh^{a}nê habbāmôt hammaqṭirîm 'ālėkā w^{e}'aṣmôt 'ādām yiśr^{e}pû 'ālėkā*;
> behold, a son (will) be born to the House of David--Josiah (will be) his name--and he will sacrifice upon you [= the altar at Bethel] the bamoth-priests who (are) burning incense upon you and human bones they/he[1] will burn upon you.

The fulfillment of this prophecy is recounted in 2 Kgs. 23:20a:[2]

> *wayyizbaḥ 'et-kol-kōh^{a}nê habbāmôt 'ašer-šām 'al-hammizb^{e}ḥôt wayyiśrōp 'et-'aṣmôt 'ādām '^{a}lêhem*;
> and [Josiah] sacrificed all the bamoth-priests who (were) there upon the altars and he burned human bones upon them.

What has not generally been noted, however, is that the fulfillment is inexact. The site of this slaughter is not the altar at Bethel as expected, but the altars of "the battim-bamoth in the cities of Samaria which the kings of Israel had made" (vs. 19). We have seen that vs. 19 is anticipated by 1 Kgs. 13:32 which credits the unnamed Judaean prophet with an oracle "proclaimed by the word of Yahweh" (*qārā' bid^{e}bar YHWH*) against both "the altar in Bethel and all the battim-bamoth in the cities of Samaria." But the oracular statement quoted in vs. 2 to which vs. 32 refers is directed against the altar in Bethel alone--

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[1] The text is uncertain. The LXX, Pesh., and Vulg. have a sing. verb, as in the fulfillment it is Josiah (sing.) who does the "burning" (2 Kgs. 23:20a), but this may be a secondary harmonization. Targ. supports the MT. Either could be correct (the sense is unaffected), but since the fulfillment is not otherwise precisely as anticipated (see below) the MT is probably to be preferred.

[2] Cf. pp. 121 note 1 above.

> *wayyiqrā' 'al-hammizbēaḫ bid^{e}bar YHWH wayyō'mer mizbēaḫ mizbēaḫ kōh 'āmar YHWH*;
>
> and [the man-of-god from Judah] proclaimed against the altar [of the beth-bamoth in Bethel where Jeroboam was conducting a ritual] by the word of Yahweh and he said: Altar, altar, thus has Yahweh said (vs. 2a; cf. vss. 1, 3-5)--

and the bamoth-priests officiating there (vs. 2b). These discrepancies suggest that the bamoth-priests servicing Bethel *also* serviced the battim-bamoth in the other cities of North Israel.[1] As we shall see below, a similar overlapping of cultic responsibilities is found in Judah.

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[1] They cannot be explained away as redactional errata without chopping the texts to pieces *ex hypothesi*. 1 Kgs. 13:32 and 2 Kgs. 23:19f. may indeed be secondary elaborations inspired by 1 Kgs. 13:2

VI.B.4. Amos 7:9 and Hosea 10:8

Amos warns of the coming destruction of the Northern Kingdom, predicting:

> *w^{e}nāšammû bāmôt yiśḫāq ûmiqd^{e}šê yiśrā'ēl yeḫ^{e}-*
> *rābû, w^{e}qamtî 'al-bêt yārob'ām beḫāreb*;
> and (the) bamoth of Issac will be made desolate
> and (the) sanctuaries of Israel will lie in ruins,
> and I will rise up against (the) house of Jero-
> boam with the sword (7:9).

In biblical Hebrew *miqdāš* signifies a sanctuary building or architectural complex, "usually a temple,"[1] and is thus a synonym of *bayit*, "(temple-)house."[2] The parallelism is instructive, therefore, for it suggests that for Amos a bamah was an installation

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(see preceding note), but this possibility does not resolve the problem; indeed, if these passages are dependent upon 1 Kgs. 13:2, the redactor has been exceedingly and unnecessarily sloppy.

[1] Mays, *Amos*, p. 133.

[2] Cf. P. Joŭon, "Les Mots employés pour désigner 'Le Temple' dans l'Ancien Testament, le Nouveau Testament, et Josèphe," *Reserches de Science Religieuse*, XXV (1935), 329ff., who concludes: "En fait, *miqdāš* semble toujours être un édifice; il désigne donc plus clairement l'edifice du temple que *bayit*" (p. 330).

of comparable architectural status,[1] consistent with the type of installation implied by the phrase *bêt/bāttê-(hab)bāmôt*.[2]

This oracle was evidently delivered at the sanctuary at Bethel which was, according to its priestly spokesman, "a royal sanctuary and a (temple-)house of (the) kingdom" (*miqdāš-melek . . . bêt mimlākâ* [vs. 13]).[3] This terminology is regularly attributed to the fact that the installation in question had been established by Jeroboam I to serve as a new religious focus for his schismatic kingdom; it was thus an official governmental institution of national significance. But, as we have seen, this sanctuary is also considered a bamah/beth-bamoth.[4] This correspondence raises the possibility that the other battim-bamoth "in the cities of Samaria which the kings of Israel had made" (2 Kgs. 23:19) also were "royal sanctuaries and (temple-)houses of (the) kingdom." Such an interpretation would explain why Amos has deliberately linked the destruction of the bamoth-sanctuaries of North Israel with the destruction of the ruling dynasty,[1] for as "royal sanctuaries"/"national temples" the bamoth would have been institutionally tied to and thus symbolic of the dynasty (= the state).[2] Amaziah rightly understood the oracle as a threat against the king (the human embodiment of the dynasty) and banned Amos from prophesying further at the bamah-sanctuary at Bethel,

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[1] Cf. Isa. 49:19; 61:4; Ezek. 12:20; 29:9f.; 30:7; Zeph. 3:6. Conversely, Mays (among others) sees the parallelism as referring to two different types of cult places--temples and bamoth--because bamoth, by the customary definition, cannot be called *miqdāšîm* (*Amos*, p. 133).

[2] See further p. 376 below.

[3] Note that both phrases are *indefinite*.

[4] Levine's discussion of this point ("Cult Places, Israelite," cols. 1164ff.) is worthy of note. He recognizes that 1 Kgs. 12:31 "actually describes the sanctuary erected at Beth-El by Jeroboam as a *bet bamot*" and that this is probably the sanctuary referred to in Amos 7:13. But he goes on to say that "there can be little doubt that a *mikdash*, and not just a *bamah*, stood at Beth-El" in the time of Josiah--in spite of the fact that "in II Kings 23:15-16 it is recorded that Josiah destroyed the 'altar' and the bamah at Beth-El." He reasons (on the basis of 1 Sam. 9) that a bamah "was probably an open-air installation not intended to serve as a residence for the

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deity, as in the case of the mikdash, but rather as a site that the deity would visit when involked. . . . The bamah could, of course, be raised to the status of a residence for the deity, which is what the term bet bamot connotes." Consequently, Jeroboam probably "enclosed a previously constructed bamah which had served as an open-air cult place." But if so, what are we to make of the witness of 2 Kgs. 23:15, and of Levine's observation that in Mesha's inscription bmt and bt . bmt are used "perhaps interchangeably" (see Chapter VI.D.1 below)? His judgment concerning the battim-bamoth is sound (see pp. 375f. below), but he has needlessly clouded the issue by attempting to reconcile it with the conventional view of a bamah as an ephemeral open-air cult place. In addition, he gives acceptance to the platform hypothesis, but this is pro forma and not at all evident in his treatment of the texts.

[1] Note the assonance: "lie in ruins" (ḤRB) : "sword" (ḤRB).

[2] According to Watts, Amos' message was a pronouncement of doom on the entire kingdom, and "specifically upon its central organs, the royal house and the royal sanctuaries" (Vision and Prophecy, p. 24).

the destruction of which was included in the oracle delivered there which precipitated his explusion.[1]

Hosea 10:7-8a supports this hypothesis:

> nidmeh šōmrôn malkāh k^{e}qeṣep 'al-p^{e}nê-māyim; w^{e}nišm^{e}dû bāmôt 'āwen ḥaṭṭa't yiśrā'ēl qôṣ w^{e}dardar ya'^{a}leh 'al-mizb^{e}ḥôtām;
>
> Samaria, its king (will be) destroyed like a twig upon (the) face of (the) waters; and (the) bamoth of Aven, (the) sin of Israel, will be made useless and thorn(s) and thistle(s) will grow up upon their altars.

As in Amos 7:9, the downfall of the king is linked with the destruction of the bamah-sanctuaries.[2] Here, however, the phrase bāmôt-'āwen underscores their connection with Bethel (= Beth-Aven: vs. 5a; cf. 4:14; 5:8). Vss. 5f. predict that the calf of

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[1] Cf. Jeremiah's banishment from the Temple (Jer. 36:5) which undoubtedly was brought about by his hostile prophetic activities.

[2] BMH obviously cannot mean "altars," but must refer to installations possessing altars. According to Vaughan, "it is impossible to say whether or not 'the bamoth of Aven' are regarded as the same objects as the parallel 'their altars'" (Meaning, p. 69 note 27). On the contrary, however, the text could not be more clear, for the only possible antecedent of mizb^{e}ḥôtām is bāmôt-'āwen (note that 'āwen is masc., which accounts for the masc. pronominal suffix).

Bethel, not of the capital Samaria (cf. 8:5),[1] will be carried off to Assyria, a tangible sign of the nation's subjugation to that foreign power and, concomitantly, of the demise of the reigning king.[2] That it is specifically the bamoth "of (Beth-) Aven," not "of Samaria" or "of Israel" (or "of Issac," as in Amos 7:9), that will fall into disuse in vs. 8 links their fate with the despoiling of the sanctuary at Bethel. Amos 3:14b seems to reflect much the same idea: "and I will punish the altar*s* of Bethel [= the bamoth, *pars pro toto*?] and the horns of the altar [at the Bethel sanctuary itself] will be cut off and will fall to the ground."[3] This same juxtaposition has already been seen in 1 Kgs. 13:32 and especially 2 Kgs. 23:19.

VI.C. *The Bamoth of Judah*

The majority of the occurrences of the "cultic" BMH refer to bamah installations in Judah. Many only note their existence and their cultic utilization,[1] but others are more informative.

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[1] Cf. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea*, trans. by G. Stansell, ed. by P. D. Hanson, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), pp. 140, 175f.

[2] Cf. Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion*, ch. 2.

[3] The textual integrity of *mizb^{e}ḥôt* has often been doubted, but only on the assumption that vs. 14bα and vs. 14bβ both refer to Bethel: cf., e.g., Marti, *Dodekapropheton*, p. 178; Fosbroke, "Amos," p. 800; Robinson and Horst, *Zwölf kleinen Propheten*, p. 84; Hammershaimb, *Amos*, p. 64. Wolff's solution is to regard vs. 14bα "als Nachtrag aus der Josiazeit" (*Joel und Amos*, p. 239; cf. p. 237).

VI.C.1. In the Cities of Judah

When the location of the Judaean bamoth is specified in the texts, they, like the bamoth of North Israel, are said to be urban installations. According to 2 Kgs. 23:8a, the bamoth defiled by Josiah were in "the cities of Judah . . . from Geba to Beer-Sheba" (cf. also vs. 5a).[2] The bamoth in the Ben-Hinnom Valley (Jer. 7:31; 19:5; 32:35) and on the Mount of Olives (1 Kgs. 11:7f.; 2 Kgs. 23:13) cannot be disassociated from the religious life of Jerusalem. The Chronicler places the bamah at Gibeon "in" (B) that city (1 Chron. 16:39; 21:29; 2 Chron. 1:3, 13). We are also told of a bamah installation adjacent to a city gate (2 Kgs. 23:8b).

It is significant that two references to the bamah phenomenon by the Chronicler which have no parallel in 1-2 Kings also give it an urban locus. His expanded account of the reign of Asa includes the statement:

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[1] Lev. 26:30; Num. 33:52; 1 Kgs. 3:2, 3; 15:14; 22:44; 2 Kgs. 12:4; 14:4; 15:4, 35; 2 Chron. 14:2; 15:17; 17:6; 20:33; 33:17, 19; 34:3. For the most part, these are judgmental statements and lists of various cultic phenomena of which the writer disapproved.

[2] On vs. 5a, see p. 333 note 3 below.

> *wayyāsar mikkol-'ārê y^{e}hûdâ ʼet-habbāmôt w^{e}-ʼet-haḫammānîm, wattišqōt hammamlākâ l^{e}pānāyw*; and he removed from all the cities of Judah the bamoth and the incense-altars,[1] and the kingdom was peaceful before him (2 Chron. 14:4).

This may be seen as a summary recapitulation of vs. 2 in which the king is said to have "removed the foreign altars and the bamoth and broken up the maṣṣeboth and cut up the asherim." Secondly, 2 Chron. 28:25a credits Ahaz with "making" bamoth *b^{e}kol-'îr wā'îr lîhûdâ*, "in every single city (belonging) to Judah," for the purpose of "burning incense to other gods." This passage anticipates the Chronicler's version of Hezekiah's reform in which the bamoth in "the cities of Judah" are destroyed (31:1a).

VI.C.2. During the Reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah

The cultic reform initiated by Hezekiah is succinctly recounted in 2 Kgs. 18:4:

> *hûʼ hēsîr ʼet-ḫabbāmôt w^{e}šibbar ʼet-hammaṣṣēbôt w^{e}kārat ʼet-hāʼ^{a}šērâ, w^{e}kittat n^{e}ḫaš hann^{e}ḫōšet*

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[1] Cf. H. Ingholt, "Le Sens du Mot Ḥammān," *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud*, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, XXX (Paris: Paul Guethner, 1939), II, 795-802.

> *'ašer-'āśâ mōšeh kî 'ad-hayyāmîm hahēmmâ hāyû b^{e}nê-yiśrā'ēl m^{e}qaṭṭ^{e}rîm lô wayyiqrā'-lô n^{e}ḥuštān*;
>
> he removed the bamoth and broke up the maṣṣeboth and cut down the Asherah-emblem,[1] and he pulverized the bronze serpent which Moses had made because until those days the sons of Israel had been burning incense to it, and it was called[2] Nehushtan.

Vs. 4a has often been thought to be an anachronistic embellishment drawn from the later reform activities of Josiah,[3] but this is an arbitrary historical judgment which cannot be easily defended.[4] We have seen that the recurring editorial criticism of the kings of Judah for not having the bamoth "removed" (SWR) is compositionally tied to their "removal" by Hezekiah in vs. 4aα.[1] According to 2 Kgs. 21:3a, Manasseh rebuilt *’et-habbāmôt ’^{a}šer ’ibbad hizqîyāhû ’ābîw*, "the bamoth which Hezekiah his father had destroyed."[2] Further confirmation is provided by 2 Kgs. 18:22, part of the Assyrian Rabshakeh's speech before the walls of Jerusalem:

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[1] Although some commentators (e.g., Skinner, Gray) read *'ašērîm* with the LXX and Vulg., the sing. is probably to be preferred (cf. 2 Kgs. 17:16; 21:3; 23:6).

[2] Lit. "one called it."

[3] So, e.g., Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, pp. 46f., and more directly in the accompanying essay "Israel" (pp. 480f.). Cf. more recently Snaith, "I-II Kings," p. 289.

[4] Cf. A. R. Siebens, "The Historicity of the Hezekian Reform," *From the Pyramids to Paul*, ed. by L. G. Leary (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1935), pp. 251-266.

> *w^{e}kî-tō’m^{e}rûn ’ēlay ’el-YHWH ’^{e}lōhênû bāṭāḫnû, h^{a}lô’-hû’ ’^{a}šer hēsîr hizqîyāhû ’et-bāmōtayw w^{e}-’et-mizb^{e}ḫōtayw wayyō’mer lîhûdâ w^{e}lîrûšālaim lipnê hammizbēaḫ hazzeh tištaḫ^{a}wû bîrûšālaim*; and if you say to me, "On Yahweh our god we rely," (your confidence is misplaced, for is) it not he whose bamoth and altars Hezekiah has removed, saying to Judah and to Jerusalem, "Before this altar shall you bow down in Jerusalem"? (= Isa. 36:7; cf. 2 Chron. 32:11f.).

Although this pericope poses a number of literary and historical questions, there is little reason to deny the essential historicity of this verse.[1]

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[1] See Chapter III.G above.

[2] According to the Chronicler's version, Hezekiah had "torn down" (NTṢ) the bamoth (2 Chron. 33:3).

2 Kgs. 18:22 contains several important pieces of information about the bamah phenomenon. It is obvious, first of all, that a bamah is not an altar; we are dealing with separate categories of cultic installations or possibly, as in 2 Kgs. 23:15, two elements of the same type of installation.[2] It is also obvious that these bamoth had hitherto been legitimate and necessary sites for the worship of Yahweh. There is no hint that their existence was in any way improper prior to the reform;[3] indeed, the fact that the Rabshakeh would argue that their "removal" has so alienated Yahweh that he has withdrawn his divine protection--an argument intended to persuade his hearers, the "people on the wall"

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[1] Cf. Montgomery, *Kings*, p. 488; B. S. Childs, *Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis*, SBT, 2d series, III (Naperville: Alec R. Allenson, 1967), 76ff.; Gray, *I-II Kings*, pp. 662ff. This is not to say that the Assyrian official actually said these words (the use of SWR is hardly coincidental), but only that they cannot be arbitrarily dismissed as a reflection of the Josianic reform (so, e.g., Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, p. 47 note 1; Kaiser, *Isaiah 13-39*, p. 380).

[2] According to Vaughan, "there would seem to be a careful parallelism here: the Judahites are to foresake their bamoth, but the Jerusalemites the additional altars in the Temple" (*Meaning*, p. 69 note 21). This may well be so (see below), but it hardly warrants Vaughan's inference that *bāmâ* and *mizbēaḥ* "were synonymous (at least to the Deuteronomic writers)" (p. 32).

[3] This is in direct contradiction of 1 Kgs. 3:2.

(vss. 26f.), to abandon their king and capitulate[1]--indicates that Hezekiah's actions regarding the bamoth constituted a potentially divisive innovation.[2] Finally, since the corollary of bamoth "removal" is the worship of Yahweh exclusively at the Temple in Jerusalem, there can be little doubt that SWR implies the permanent physical elimination of these installations, thus requiring their "rebuilding" by Manasseh. This is the Chronicler's understanding, for he says that the bamoth and altars were "torn down" (NTṢ) by Hezekiah's supporters (2 Chron. 31:1a; cf. 33:3a); it is evident also from the use of ʾBD, "to destroy," to describe their fate in 2 Kgs. 21:3a.

It should be noted in this connection that it is a king, Manasseh, who "rebuilds" the bamoth (2 Kgs. 21:3a [= 2 Chron. 33:3a]). This corresponds to the "making" of the battim-bamoth by the "kings of Israel" (2 Kgs. 23:19), and suggests that in

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[1] On this diplomatic tactic, see especially J. S. Holladay, Jr., "Assyrian Statecraft and the Prophets of Israel," HTR, LXIII (1970), 29-51.

[2] M. Weinfeld observes that "we do not find any explicit positive attitude regarding the cultic reform in the prophecy of Hezekiah's time or thereafter" ("Cult Centralization in Israel in Light of a Neo-Babylonian Analogy," JNES, XXIII [1964], 209). He attributes 2 Kgs. 18:19-25 to "disciples of Isaiah, who perpetuating their master's teaching opposed (for religious reasons) Hezekiah's policy" (p. 207).

Judah as in North Israel the bamah phenomenon enjoyed an official status of some sort.

Less than a century later the bamoth came under another attack by Hezekiah's great-grandson:

> *wayyābē’ ’et-kol-hakkōh^{a}nîm mē'ārê y^{e}hûdâ way^{e}ṭammē’ ’et-habbāmôt ’^{a}šer qiṭṭ^{e}rû-šāmmâ hakkōh^{a}nîm miggeba' 'ad-b^{e}’ēr šāba' . . . ’ak lō’ ya'^{a}lû kōh^{a}nê habbāmôt ’el-mizbēaḥ YHWH bîrûšālāim, kî ’im-’āk^{e}lû maṣṣôt b^{e}tôk ’^{a}ḥêhem*; and [Josiah] brought in [to Jerusalem] all the priests from the cities of Judah and he defiled the bamoth where the priests had burned incense from Geba to Beer-Sheba . . . but the bamoth-priests did not go up to the altar of Yahweh in Jerusalem *kî ’im-’āk^{e}lû* unleavened-bread in the midst of their brothers (2 Kgs. 23:8a, 9).

According to the standard "deuteronomistic" interpretation of these actions, Josiah centralized the worship of Yahweh by closing down all the local sanctuaries in Judah--in agreement with Deut. 12--and absorbing their personnel into the staff of the Jerusalem Temple, but in a subsidiary capacity without altar privileges--contrary to Deut. 18:6-8.[1] Although it has long since become axiomatic, this interpretation is at variance with the actual text. Specifically:

1. The bamoth mentioned in 2 Kgs. 23:8a, 9, are not scattered indiscriminately "upon the high mountains and upon the hills and under every green tree" throughout the countryside as are the cult places (= *hamm^{e}qōmôt*) proscribed in Deut. 12:2. On the contrary, they are urban installations located in "the cities of Judah . . . from Geba to Beer-Sheba."

2. These bamoth are not "destroyed" (ʼBD) as are the cult places in Deut. 12:2. Nor are they "torn down" (NTŞ) as are the "house(s) of the holy-ones" in the Temple-complex (2 Kgs. 23:7), the bamah-sanctuary at Bethel (vs. 15), and the installation by "the gate of Joshua" (vs. 8b [see below]) in the course of Josiah's reform, an action clearly intended to prevent their further use. Nor are they "removed" (SWR) and their priests slaughtered, the treatment accorded the battim-bamoth in "the cities of Samaria"

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[1] The discrepancy is usually attributed to the reluctance of the resident Jerusalem priesthood to grant the dispossessed bamoth-priests a status equal to their own: cf., e.g., Weinfeld, "Cult Centralization in Israel," p. 211 note 46; M. Smith, *Palestinian Parties and Politics that Shaped the Old Testament*, American Council of Learned Societies Lecture Series, IX (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), 49f., 225f. notes 248 and 249.

(vss. 19f.) which would have effectively brought the cultus there to an end. On the contrary, Josiah is said only to have "defiled" (TM') the bamoth in "the cities of Judah," an action which need not imply more than a temporary decommissioning;[1] theoretically at least, after suitable ritual purification they could have been returned to service.[2] Moreover, the Judaean bamoth-priests were not exterminated like their northern counterparts, but were transported to Jerusalem where they stayed for an unspecified period of time among their priestly "brothers" in the Temple.

3. The syntax of vs. 9 will not sustain the customary view that the Judaean bamoth-priests, once in Jerusalem, "did not come up to the altar . . . but they ate unleavened bread" (RSV), i.e., that they were denied altar privileges in the Temple.[3] For this

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[1] Even in the Chronicler's report the only destroying done in Judah is of cultic paraphernalia (altars, asherim, idols, images); the bamoth are barely mentioned (2 Chron. 34:4f.).

[2] Cf. especially Ezek. 43:20-22; 45:18-20; Neh. 13:9. Josiah's treatment of the Temple should be seen as an act of purification, i.e., the removal of (what he felt to be) defilement so that its proper holy state was restored; cf. the Chronicler's extended report of Hezekiah's reform (2 Chron. 29:5, 15ff.).

[3] See especially H. Guthe, "Das Passahfest nach Dtn. 16," BZAW, XXXIII (1918), 228f., and an untitled paper on the subject by J. A. Wilcoxen (a revised form of which is in preparation for publication). Cf. also J. B. Segal, The Hebrew Passover, London Oriental Series, XII (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 216f. note 8. P. Wernberg-Møller seems to be thinking along these same lines when he notes that vs. 9 indicates that the bamoth-priests were not "transferred

to be the meaning of the text both 'LH and ʼKL would have to be in the same tense.[1] Here, however, 'LH is in imperfect and ʼKL is in perfect, requiring the conjunction kî ʼim to carry an exceptive sense.[2] The verse should thus be translated: "But the bamoth-priests would not go up to the altar of Yahweh in Jerusalem unless they had eaten unleavened-bread in the midst of their brothers."

If these factors are taken into consideration, a rather different picture of this aspect of Josiah's reform begins to come into focus.

It was shown above that the bamoth-priests of North Israel apparently had altar privileges at the principal sanctuary at Bethel and also serviced the battim-bamoth "in the cities of Samaria" before their eradication by Josiah. It is not inconceivable, therefore, that the bamoth-priests from "the cities of Judah" may also have had altar privileges in Jerusalem before the reform. Deut. 18:6-8 envisions such a situation:

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to Jerusalem" (review of E. Nielsen, Grundrids af Israels Historie, 2d ed., in JSS, VIII [1963], 97).

[1] Cf. Gen. 15:4; Deut. 7:3ff.; 16:5f.; 1 Kgs. 20:5f.

[2] Cf. Gen. 32:27; Lev. 22:6; 2 Sam. 5:6; Isa. 55:10; 65:6; Amos 3:7; Ruth 3:18.

> And when the Levite comes from one of your gates [> towns] from all Israel where he resides--and he comes whenever he wishes to--to the place which Yahweh will choose, then he shall minister in the name of Yahweh his god like all his brothers, the Levites, who (are) stationed there before Yahweh. They shall eat equal shares, besides the price of his patrimony.[1]

Levitical priests (cf. vs. 1) not residing in Jerusalem come to the Temple and join their "brothers," the Levitical priests "stationed" ('MD; cf. 1 Kgs. 12:32b) there, in the performance of certain cultic acts. They are under no obligation to come, and do so periodically (*b^{e}kol-ʼawwat napšû*).

The bamoth-priests in 2 Kgs. 23:8a, 9, also come to Jerusalem and perform cultic acts in the Temple, but to do the latter they are obliged to have "eaten unleavened-bread" with the permanent Temple priesthood. This requirement may well mean participation in an ordination ritual at the beginning of the year (cf. Lev. 8:22-28, 31-35).[2] If so, the bamoth-priests would have had to have come to Jerusalem for the New Year festival and have undergone this ritual, presumably supervised by the chief-priest of the Temple, in order to enjoy the same cultic status as their Jerusalem "brothers." In other words, the sacral authority of the bamoth-priests was under the control of the Temple priesthood. This is not exactly the situation described in Deut. 18:6-8 which emphasizes the equality and autonomy of the resident and non-resident priests. If the non-resident Levitical priests of Deut. 18 and the bamoth-priests of 2 Kgs. 23:8f. represent the same priestly body, as is commonly assumed,[1] the ordination requirement and concomitant curtailment of the bamoth-priests' independence would appear to be a Josianic innovation. Deut. 18:6-8 would thus reflect earlier conditions either before Hezekiah's elimination of the bamoth or after their reestablishment by Manasseh.

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[1] The final clause is obscure. Cf., e.g., Driver, *Deuteronomy*, p. 218.

[2] This possibility is explored by Wilcoxen in the paper cited in p. 329 note 3 above.

Further evidence of Josiah's treatment of the bamoth is found in 2 Kgs. 23:5:

> *w^{e}hišbît 'et-hakk^{e}mārîm '^{a}šer nāt^{e}nû malkê y^{e}hûdâ way^{e}qaṭṭēr babbāmôt b^e'ārê y^{e}hûdâ ûm^{e}sibbê y^{e}rûšālāim, w^e'et-ham^{e}qaṭṭ^{e}rîm labba'al laššemeš w^{e}layyārēaḥ w^{e}lammazzālôt ûl^{e}kol ṣ^{e}bā' haššamāyim*;
>
> and he put an end to the komer-priests which the

---

[1] Cf. the reservations expressed by von Rad, Deuteronomy, p. 122.

> kings of Judah had made to burn incense[1] in the bamoth in the cities of Judah and around Jerusalem, and those burning incense to Baal, to the sun and to the moon and to the constellations[2] and to all the host of heaven.

Although these are clearly the same bamoth mentioned in vss. 8f.,[3] the use of *kōmer* indicates that the priesthood in question is different. The komer-priests seem to be especially associated with astral worship (cf. Zeph. 1:4f.);[4] it is not very likely that the king who purged the Temple of the paraphernalia of these astral deities (vss. 4, 11) would have allowed priests of these same deities to then officiate in Temple rituals. Josiah's action is best understood, therefore, as the abolishment of a particular class of priests which serviced the bamoth together with the Yahwistic bamoth-priests of vss. 8f. Significantly, it is not the existence of the bamoth which is objectionable, but the character of the cultic personnel (and presumably, therefore, the cultus) at those installations.

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[1] See Chapter III.G.1 above.

[2] See the recent discussion of this term by J. McKay, *Religion in Judah under the Assyrians*, SBT, 2d series, XXVI (Naperville: Alec R. Allenson, 1973), 38f. and accompanying notes.

[3] The urban locus of the bamah phenomenon cannot be refuted on the basis of the phrase *ûm^{e}sibbê y^{e}rûšālaim* which may refer to a second place besides the bamoth where incense was burned.

[4] Cf. McKay, *Religion in Judah*, pp. 36ff. and accompanying notes.

It is important to note that this verse interrupts the recounting of the various reform measures which Josiah effected within the Temple itself (vss. 4, 6-7). This raises the possibility of a functional connection between the cultic personnel referred to here and the Temple cultus as conducted before the reform.[1] The fact that the astral deities worshipped by the komer-priests at the bamoth were part of the official pantheon worshipped in the Temple alongside Yahweh before Josiah's purge (cf. vss. 4, 11) permits this same inference.[2]

This review of Josiah's treatment of the bamoth of Judah suggests that he intended not the abolition of these installations, but their subordination to the religious authorities in Jerusalem and the termination of certain cultic practices, probably of an astral nature, which had formerly been conducted there (cf. Deut. 17:2-7; Jer. 44:17, 21). This picture contrasts sharply with the provisions of Deut. 12:2-5:

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[1] Alternatively, some commentators see this as indicating that the verse is a later intrusion (so, e.g., Gray, I-II Kings, p. 732).

[2] Furthermore, we must consider the possibility that Yahweh too may have come to be regarded and worshipped as an astral god, at least by certain priestly circles of the period. Cf. the recent review of the biblical evidence for astral religion by McKay, Religion in Judah, ch. 6. It is clear that Josiah and his supporters would have been in the opposing camp.

> You shall surely destroy all the places where the people whom you (are) dispossessing served their gods, upon the high mountains and upon the hills and under every green tree, and you shall tear down their altars and break up their maşşeboth and their asherim you shall burn with fire and the images of their gods you shall cut up, and you shall destroy their name from that place; you shall not do such for Yahweh your god, but to the place which Yahweh your god will choose from all of your tribes to place his name you shall turn and thither shall you go [to worship].

The complete extinction of every cult place except the Jerusalem Temple is demanded. If the preceding observations are correct, this passage anticipates not the reformation of the cult undertaken by Josiah,[1] but the more drastic transformation attempted unsuccessfully by Hezekiah.

VI.C.3. In the Ben-Hinnom Valley

Three biblical texts attest to the presence of bamoth in the Ben-Hinnom valley just below the walls of Jerusalem:

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[1] Unless Deut. 12:2-5 is referring only to cult places in north Israel, since Josiah does destroy bamoth there. The possibility merits consideration, especially if the origins of Deuteronomy are to be sought in the north.

> *ûbānû bāmôt hattōpet ’ᵃšer bᵉgê’ ben-hinnōm liś-rōp ’et-bᵉnêhem wᵉ’et-bᵉnōtêhem bā’ēš*;
> [the sons of Judah] built *bāmôt hattōpet*, in the Ben-Hinnom valley, to burn their sons and daughters in the fire (Jer. 7:31a);
>
> *ûbānû ’et-bāmôt habba'al liśrōp ’et-bᵉnêhem bā’ēš 'ōlôt labba'al*;
> [the people] built *bamôt habba'al*, [in the Ben-Hinnom valley], to burn their sons in the fire (as) burnt-offerings to Baal (Jer. 19:5a [cf. vss. 2, 6]);
>
> *wayyibnû ’et-bāmôt habba'al ’ᵃšer bᵉgê’ ben-hinnōm lᵉha'ᵃbîr ’et-bᵉnêhem wᵉ’et-bᵉnôtêhem lammōlek*;
> [the sons of Israel and the sons of Judah, their kings, priests, and prophets, the men of Judah, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem] built *bāmôt habba'al*, in the Ben-Hinnom valley, to pass through their sons and their daughters *lammōlek* (Jer. 32:35aα).

It was suggested in Chapter III.L that these passages reflect Jeremiah's critical observation of certain cultic activities in the Ben-Hinnom valley during the reign of Josiah:

> *wᵉtimmē’ ’et-hattōpet ’ᵃšer bᵉgê’ ben*[1]*-hinnōm lᵉbiltî lᵉha'ᵃbîr ’îš ’et-bᵉnô wᵉ’et-bittô bā’ēš lammōlek*;
>
> and [Josiah] defiled *hattōpet*, in the Ben-Hinnom valley, that no one (would) pass his son or his daughter through the fire *lammōlek* (2 Kgs. 23:10).[2]

Terminological inconsistencies complicate an assessment of these passages. 2 Kgs. 23:10 envisions a single installation called *hattōpet*. The exact meaning of this word is uncertain, but most commentators see the reference to some sort of "fireplace" (cf. Isa. 30:33); it may be an Aramaism.[3] In 2 Kgs. 23:10 it would be a *termus technicus* encompassing the entire installation--the actual "fireplace" apparatus and any other paraphernalia and architectural accoutrement associated with it--in the Ben-Hinnom valley. In Jeremiah, however, the word seems to be used as a toponym comparable to gê' ben-hinnōm (cf. 7:32; 19:6, 11f.). Consequently, in Jer. 7:31a BMH specifies that the reference is to "the cultic installation of [= in the place called] Topheth"[1] in the Ben-Hinnom valley.[2]

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[1] *Qere*.

[2] If we have drawn the correct inference from the use of TM’ in the report of Josiah's reform, it becomes impossible to date Jeremiah's activity on the basis of 2 Kgs. 23:10 (see pp. 145f. note 3 above). That the "defilement" of this installation was particularly severe, tantamount to its permanent abolition, may be implied by Jeremiah's prophecy that it will be used for burials (see especially 19:11 and 13); cf. Num. 19:11-19.

[3] Cf., e.g., Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 377; Gray, *I-II Kings*, pp. 735f.; Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion*, pp. 77f. note 62.

Jer. 19:5 and 32:35 identify the installation by the deity to whom the cultus was directed: "the bamah of Baal."[3] In the latter and in 2 Kgs. 23:10, however, we are told that the "passing through" was lammōlek. This discrepancy is best resolved by taking MLK as an epithet of the "baal" worshipped here, i.e., Baal "the king" (= hammelek [cf. Isa. 30:33], later given the tendentious vocalization of habbōšet, "the shame"), consort of "the queen of heaven."[4]

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[1] Reading *bāmat-hattōpet; see Chapter III.L above.

[2] It is nonetheless remarkable that 2 Kgs. 23:10 does not call the installation a bamah, and perhaps indicative of an anachronistic application of the term.

[3] Reading *bāmat-hattōpet; see Chapter III.L above.

[4] See M. Weinfeld, "The Worship of Molech and of the Queen of Heaven and its Background," UF, IV (1972), especially 139, 148f. Cf. also E. Dhorme, "Le Dieu Baal et le Dieu Moloch dans la Tradition Biblique," Anatolian Studies, VI (1956), 57-61. According to Gray, Moloch (like Milcom, Kemosh, and Shalem) is a local variety of Athtar ("Desert God," pp. 72-83; idem, "Molech," Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, ed. by G. A. Buttrick et al. [New York: Abingdon Press, 1962], III, 422-423). M. R. Lehmann sees him as Mot; "the central feature of this cult was the sympathetic burial

Jer. 7:31a and 19:5a leave no doubt that the cultus practiced at this installation involved the "burning" (ŚRP) of children. Most commentators regard child-immolation as the central characteristic of Molek/Baal-Melek worship in Israel, and produce Phoenician and Assyrian parallels to support this view.[1] In a recent examination of the relevant data Moshe Weinfeld has challenged this common understanding. On the basis of the 'BR formulations in 2 Kgs. 23:10 and Jer. 32:35 he argues that the rite was an initiatory consecration of an individual, not cultic murder, and that the references to the "burning" of children are secondary polemical exaggerations.[2] The biblical evidence will not sustain such an interpretation, however.[3] The 'BR (in Hiphil) +

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of bodies or their ashes representing Mot in the barren grounds of the *šdmwt* for the purpose of reawakening the slain Baal" ("A New Interpretation of the Term ŠDMWT," *VT*, III [1953], 366). For the view that MLK denotes a type of sacrifice and not a deity, see most recently Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, pp. 236ff. Cf. further H. Cazelles, "Molok," *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Vol. V (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1957), cols. 1337-1346; de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, pp. 444ff.; *idem*, *Studies in Old Testament Sacrifice*, ch. 3; Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion*, pp. 77ff.

[1] See especially the studies by Cazalles and de Vaux cited in the preceding note.

[2] Weinfeld, "Worship of Molech," pp. 140ff. See also N. H. Snaith, "The Cult of Molech," *VT*, XVI (1966), 123-124. Similarly, cf. Driver, *Deuteronomy*, pp. 222f.

[3] See the critique of Weinfeld's position by M. Smith, "A Note on Burning Babies," *JAOS*, XCV (1975), 477-479.

L idiom used in 2 Kgs. 23:10 and Jer. 32:35 states only that the act was done "to/for" a deity, without implying means or motive. The 'BR (in Hiphil) + B idiom in 2 Kgs. 23:10 is more informative. Elsewhere in biblical usage this idiom implies that the prepositional object is penetrated and traversed in the course of the verbal action;[1] in 2 Kgs. 23:10, therefore, the children are passed "through the fire" (*bā'ēš*), not "between rows of fire" as Weinfeld contends.[2] That such an act would have resulted in the immolation--or, at best, an uncomfortable singeing--of the child is obvious (cf. Num. 31:21ff.). "Burning" (ŚRP) would thus be an apt description of the objectionable operation, adding a sharp pejorative note missing in the neutral and perhaps more technically precise 'BR.[3]

The sacrificial nature of the immolation is unclear. The fact that biblical tradition associates it with various forms of divination and sexual practice may indicate that something other than sacrificial worship is involved.[1] Neither 'BR nor ŚRP necessarily imply "sacrifice" (ZBḤ, 'LH).[2] Thus, e.g., the "passing through to Yahweh" (= 'BR [in Hiphil] + L) of firstborn animals in Ex. 13:12 is defined as "consecration" (QDŠ) in vs. 2. Similarly, in Num. 31:21ff. the "passing through the fire/water" (= 'BR [in Hiphil] + *bā'ēš*/*bammāyim*) of certain metal objects is a purification ritual. Contemporary Assyro-Aramean documents speak of the "burning" (ŚRP) of one's children as a ritualistic punishment for desecrating a stele or violating contractural obligations; the deities mentioned in this context are Baal (Adad) and his consort and, significantly, the ritual takes place at a specific installation (*bīt ḫamri*) which, like the topheth, was not actually inside the city.[3] The testimony of Zephaniah that before Josiah's reform people were "swearing by their 'king'" (*b^{e}malkām*) in conjunction with their "bowing down" to Yahweh and to the "host of heaven" (1:5) also points in this direction. Ezek. 23:39 suggests that the sacral "killing" (ŠḤṬ) of children was a preliminary to the sacrificial cultus performed in the Temple (cf. also Lev. 20:3),[1] and which in Josiah's day included worship of Baal(-Melek?), Asherah, and the "host of heaven."[2] A connection between the Temple and the installation in the Ben-Hinnom valley likewise seems implicit in Jer. 7:30f. and 32:34f.[3]

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[1] Cf. Ex. 36:6; Lev. 25:9; Deut. 2:30; Ezek. 14:15; 47:3f.; Ezra 1:1; 10:7; Neh. 8:15; 2 Chron. 30:5; 36:22. See also Austel, "Prepositional and Non-Prepositional Complements," ch. 6, especially pp. 193ff.

[2] Weinfeld, "Worship of Molech," p. 141. This sense would require 'BR (in Hiphil) + BN; cf. Gen. 15:17 and Jer. 34:19.

[3] Weinfeld emphasizes the technical precision of legal language (*ibid*., p. 141). If ŚRP is primarily descriptive, its value as a compositional or chronological indicator is limited.

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[1] See pp. 146f. above. Cogan concludes that a "divinatory fire cult of Molech that did not involve child sacrifice" coexisted with a "common Canaanite cult of child sacrifice," also directed to Molech, associated with fire, and conducted at the same place (*Imperialism and Religion*, pp. 78f.).

[2] Weinfeld is probably correct in seeing the late references to "slaying" (ŠḤṬ), "sacrificing" (ZBḤ), and "devouring" ('KL) children (Isa. 57:5; Ezek. 16:20f.; 23:37, 39; Ps. 106:37f.) as exaggerations; they are, however, based upon the knowledge that the rite involved the actual killing of the child.

[3] For these texts and discussion, see especially K. Deller, review of R. de Vaux, *Les Sacrifices de l'Ancien Testament*, in *Orientalia*, XXXIV (1965), 382-386; Weinfeld, "Worship of Molech," pp. 144ff.; Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion*, pp. 82f.; Smith, "Note on Burning Babies," p. 479.

VI.C.4. To the East of Jerusalem

Among Solomon's various building projects in and around Jerusalem we are told:

> *’āz yibneh š^{e}lōmōh bāmâ lik^{e}môš šiqquṣ mô’āb bā-*
> *hār ’^{a}šer 'al-p^{e}nê y^{e}rûšālāim, ûl^{e}mōlek šiqquṣ*

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[1] According to de Vaux, "the nearness of the Temple" is the reason for its prohibition in the Holiness Code (*Ancient Israel*, p. 445). McKay believes that this text indicates that the practice may have actually occurred at a Yahweh sanctuary (*Religion in Judah*, p. 106 note 104).

[2] Cf. 2 Kgs. 21:3b-5; 23:4, 6.

[3] Both passages speak of "abominations" in the Temple, and then immediately turn to the topheth in the Ben-Hinnom valley. Cf. also Jer. 19:14 which has the prophet move directly from the topheth to the Temple, even though the two lay on opposite sides of the city.

> *bᵉnê 'ammôn; wᵉkēn 'āśâ lᵉkol-nāšāyw hannokrîyôt*, *maqṭîrôt ûmᵉzabbᵉḥôt lē'lōhêhen*;
>
> then Solomon built a bamah for Kemosh (the) abomination of Moab in the mountain east of Jerusalem, and for Molek (the) abomination of the Ammonites; and he did so for all his foreign wives who (were) burning incense and sacrificing to their gods (1 Kgs. 11:7-8).[1]

These installations apparently survived until the Josianic reform:

> *wᵉ'et-habbāmôt 'ᵃšer 'al-pᵉnê yᵉrûšālaim 'ᵃšer mîmîn lᵉhar-hammašḥît 'ᵃšer bānâ šᵉlōmōh melek-yiśrā'ēl lᵉ'aštōret šiqquṣ ṣîdōnîm wᵉlikᵉmôš šiqquṣ mô'āb ûlᵉmilkōm tô'ᵃbat bᵉnê-'ammôn, timmē' hammelek*;
>
> and the bamoth east of Jerusalem, south of the mountain of 'destruction,'[2] which Solomon king of Israel had built for Ashtoreth (the) abomina-

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[1] Note that the verbs of worship do not conform to the pattern found in our first compositional cluster, suggesting that the passage belongs to the same ("Josianic"?) stratum as 1 Kgs. 3:2f. (cf. Chapter III.G above).

[2] *har-hammašḥît* is probably a pun on *har-hammišḥâ* ("the mountain of anointing"), apparently in reference to the Mount of Olives; alternatively, cf. McKay, *Religion in Judah*, pp. 41f.

> tion of (the) Sidonians and for Kemosh (the) abomination of Moab and for Milcom (the) detestation of the Ammonites, the king defiled (2 Kgs. 23:13).

These installations were designed to satisfy the cultic needs of the worshippers of the individual foreign deities imported by some of Solomon's many wives. Ahab's beth-Baal in Samaria, as it was undoubtedly built at the behest of the Tyrian Jezebel (1 Kgs. 16:32; cf. 18:19 and 21:26), served a similar function and was obviously a structure of architectural substance (cf. 2 Kgs. 10:18-27);[1] the beth-Baal in Jerusalem destroyed at the downfall of Athaliah (2 Kgs. 11:18) also belongs to this category. These installations were cultic enclaves on Israelite soil,[2] established by the state to further its diplomatic and commercial aims and patronized primarily by aliens resident in the capital.[3]

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[1] On the *'îr* of this sanctuary (vs. 25; cf. also 20:30 and 2 Kgs. 20:4), see L. R. Fisher, "The Temple Quarter," *JSS*, VIII (1963), 34-41.

[2] The theological principle involved is illustrated by 2 Kgs. 5:17 (cf. also 1 Sam. 26:19). Cf. J. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture*, 2d ed., III-IV (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 632ff. Robinson's opinion that Naaman took two mule-loads of Palestinian soil as a souvenir of his visit (*Second Book of Kings*, pp. 54f.) is absurd.

[3] Cf. Bright, *History of Israel*, pp. 241, 249; G. W. Ahlström, "King Jehu: A Prophet's Mistake," *Scripture in Theology and History:*

We know nothing of the history of Solomon's bamoth beyond these two notices, a surprising silence in view of the vicissitudes of the intervening centuries.[1]

VI.C.5. At the Gate of Joshua

> *w^{e}nātaṣ ’et-bāmôt hašš^{e}'ārîm ’^{a}šer-petaḥ ša'ar y^{e}hôšu'a ṡar-hā'îr ’^{a}šer-'al-ṡ^{e}mō’wl ’îš b^{e}ša'ar hā'îr*;
>
> and [Josiah] tore down *bāmôt hašš^{e}'ārîm* (at the) entrance of the gate of Joshua, chief-officer of the city, (at) one's left in the gate[2] of

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Essays in Honor of J. Coert Rylaarsdam, ed. by A. L. Merrill and T. W. Overholt (forthcoming).

[1] We may perhaps assume that some of the children born of these foreign wives adopted the religion preferred by their mothers, that other diplomatic marriages involving devotees of these gods ensued, and that alien merchants continued to patronize them. Without an influential and evangelistic proponent such as Jezebel, they would have posed no threat to the native religion (whatever it may have been at the time) of the country as practiced in the Temple from which they were segregated. According to Bright, they were "something that the ancient mind would tend to accept as a matter of course; it is probable that only the 'narrow-minded' objected" (*History of Israel*, p. 241). It is interesting that the reputedly "narrow-minded" Josiah "defiled" them, and removed some objectionable paraphernalia (vs. 14), but did not "tear down" or otherwise destroy the installations themselves; vs. 14b does imply, however that the "defilement" was meant to be permanent (cf. p. 337 note 2 above).

[2] See Chapter III.G.2 above.

the city (2 Kgs. 23:8b).

This is the only occasion that bamoth are said to have been associated with gates. The reference is obviously to a very specific installation, however, and it cannot be inferred from this one passage that gate-bamoth were to be found in every Israelite city.[1]

It is generally taken for granted that this installation was in Jerusalem.[2] The text does not require this interpretation, however, and several factors argue strongly against it: (1) No "gate of Joshua, chief-officer of the city," is otherwise known at Jerusalem. (2) No "Joshua" is said to have been "chief-officer" of Jerusalem; during Josiah's reign that post was apparently held by one Maaseiah (2 Chron. 34:8).[1] (3) That the author of this passage felt it necessary to give so meticulous a description of its location suggests that either he or his Jerusalemite audience was unfamiliar with this particular installation (cf. the summary description of the location of the well-known topheth [vs. 10]).[2] (4) The only other bamah "torn down" (NTṢ) in this account of Josiah's reform is the bamah-sanctuary at Bethel (vs. 15); the bamoth of Jerusalem (vs. 13; cf. vs. 10) and elsewhere in Judah (vs. 8a) were only "defiled" (ṬM'). (5) The most telling objection to the usual interpretation of vs. 8b is the fact that vss. 8a and 9 deal not with Jerusalem, but with the priests of "the cities of

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[1] Not withstanding the small podium within the Israelite gate complex at Dan (see A. Biran, "Tel Dan," IEJ, XIX [1969], 239; idem, "Tel Dan," BA, XXXVII [1974], 45ff.). It had a column at each corner, perhaps to support a canopy, and presumably served some official function, but it is on the right of the entrance. Y. Aharoni reports finding a round stone incense-altar (?) just outside the St. V-IV gate at Beer-Sheba; since the gate resembles the one at Dan, he infers from this object that there was a comparable bamah-platform here as well ("Excavations at Tel Beer-Sheba," BA, XXXV [1972], 119; idem, "Excavations at Tel Beer-Sheba: Preliminary Report of the Fourth Season, 1972," Tel Aviv, I [1974], 38 and pl. 6:1). This is tenuous, to say the least! In view of our syntactical findings, the purpose of the structure at Dan should be sought in the other activities which commonly occurred in and around city gates (cf. especially Ruth 4:1ff.; 2 Sam. 19:8; 1 Kgs. 22:10).

[2] Thus D. R. Ap-Thomas connects it with a small walled chamber containing two stone pillars adjacent to a shallow cave and altar base (?) on the eastern slope of Jerusalem below the city wall ("Jerusalem," Archaeology and Old Testament Study, ed. by D. W. Thomas [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967], p. 288). On the site, cf. also K. M. Kenyon, "Excavations in Jerusalem, 1963," PEQ, XCIX (1964), 8ff.; idem, Jerusalem: Excavating 3000 Years of History (London: Thames & Hudson, 1967), p. 66; idem, "Israelite Jerusalem," Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Nelson Glueck,

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ed. by J. A. Sanders (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1970), pp. 245f. This identification is no more than a guess.

[1] Cf. de Vaux, Ancient Israel, p. 137.

[2] Especially since it was evidently publically situated "at the entrance of the gate." Contrast vs. 11; this passage is obscure (cf. McKay, Religion in Judah, pp. 35f.), but the reference seems to be to a particular spot within the Temple precincts which may not have been readily identified by outsiders simply with the mention of Nathan-Melek. This is even more likely if we are dealing with where the horses were disposed of, and not where they had been erected or (if live horses were involved) stabled.

Judah" and the bamoth "[in the cities of Judah] from Geba to Beer-Sheba." This alone would suggest that the installation referred to in vs. 8b was somehow connected with the other Judaean urban centers and their bamoth, or was itself located in one of them.

The latter possibility has recently been taken up by Yigael Yadin who argues that the installation was located in Beer-Sheba (the last place mentioned in vs. 8a), and that its remains have been uncovered in Stratum II of the site.[1] Yadin understands the phrase *bāmot hašš^{e}'ārîm* to mean "bamah of the gate-type."[2] He identifies it as building-complex 430 which lies just inside and to the left of the city-gate, opposite what appears to have been the residence of the "chief-officer of the city" (Building 416).[3] According to his reconstruction, the installation consisted of a walled courtyard (Room 433) where stood a large horned altar[4] with steps leading to its top;[1] adjacent to this courtyard--the sanctuary proper in Yadin's view--were "its chambers, stores, rooms for its servants, and perhaps even a shed for the sacrificial animals (Room 442)."[2]

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[1] Y. Yadin, "Beer-Sheba: The High Place Destroyed by King Josiah," *BASOR*, CCXXII (1976), 5-17.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 8.

[3] *Ibid*., pp. 9ff. Cf. Y. Aharoni, in *Beer-Sheba I: Excavations at Beer-Sheba, 1969-1971 Seasons*, Institute of Archaeology Publications, II (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Institute of Archaeology, 1973), 13f.

[4] Cf. Y. Aharoni, "The Horned Altar of Beer-Sheba," *BA*, XXXVII (1974), 2-6; *idem*, "Excavations at Tel Beer-Sheba: Preliminary Report of the Fifth and Sixth Seasons, 1973-1974," *Tel Aviv*, II (1975), 154, 156; H. Shanks, "Horned Altar for Animal Sacrifices Unearthed

The slender archaeological basis for his interpretation of Building 430 as a cult place[3] and the merits of his reconstruction of the installation from the archaeological data[4] not withstanding, Yadin's argument is compelling. But he fails to explain why this

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at Beer-Sheba," Biblical Archaeology Review, I (1975), 1, 8-9, 15. Note that one of the horns had been "chopped off" (cf. Amos 3:14).

[1] Yadin measures the height of the steps at 147 cm. ("Beer-Sheba," p. 11); the height of the altar, which was not found intact (see note 3 below) is estimated to have been c. 157 cm.

[2] Yadin, "Beer-Sheba," p. 14.

[3] It is based solely on his placement of the altar, which had been dismantled and its stones put to utilitarian use a considerable distance away. He cites no finds, but the final excavation report notes that two limestone incense altars were recovered from Room 442; see E. Stern, in Beer-Sheba I, p. 52 and pls. 29:5, 6, 52:1, 2. The building itself seems little different from those in the "western quarter" (which also have steps); see I. Beit Arieh, in Beer-Sheba I, pp. 31ff. And, of course, all depends upon Yadin's dating of St. II to Josiah's reign, and not to Hezekiah's as Aharoni maintains; this would appear to be at least an open question at the moment.

[4] E.g., the two incense altars in Room 442 hardly suggest its use as a stable. Yadin simply takes for granted the customary view of a bamah as an essentially open-air sacred precinct and applies this to the archaeological remains; see further below.

one "bamah of the gate-type" was singled out for special mention by the narrator in 2 Kgs. 23:8b and, apparently, for especially severe treatment by Josiah. Was the cultus here so extraordinarily odious to the reformers that "defilement" of the bamah would have been considered an insufficient deterrent? And if so, what was the basis for this extreme hostility? The fact that this bamah recieved the same treatment as the bamah-sanctuary at Bethel provides an important clue. The Judaean Amos a century earlier had recognized a similarity between the cultus at Bethel and other North Israelite religious centers and the cultus at Beer-Sheba (5:5; 8:14). The point of the comparison is unknown, but the equation of the "god(s)" of Dan with the deity worshipped at Beer-Sheba (8:14)[1] suggests that the iconographical representation of Yahweh may be involved.[2] Beer-Sheba received pilgrims from the north in Amos' day (5:5), and would certainly have attracted northern refugees escaping the Assyrian onslaught a few decades later. There is every reason to believe, therefore, that Josiah's zealots saw Beer-Sheba as an enclave of Israelitish heterodoxy on Judah's southern border, and thus as dangerous and deserving of eradication as Bethel on the northern border.

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[1] For a discussion of this text, cf., e.g., Mays, Amos, pp. 149f.; Hammershaimb, Amos, pp. 129f.

[2] Note also the connection between Beer-Sheba and Issac (Gen. 26:23ff.; 46:1). Is it coincidental that Amos speaks of "bamoth of Issac" in North Israel (7:8)? Gray goes so far as to see the Amos passage as a reference to Beer-Sheba (I-II Kings, p. 735); for a different opinion, see the discussion of this passage above.

If this explanation is cogent, the interpretation of the phrase *bāmôt hašš^{e}'ārîm* in 2 Kgs. 23:8b must be reconsidered. The sing. **bāmat* is undoubtedly correct,[1] but Yadin's "bamah of the gate-type" is forced.[2] Vaughan and others repoint the text to read *bāmat-haśś^{e}'irîm*,[3] which may be translated "bamah of the he-goats"[4] (cf. Lev. 17:7). If the installation was in Jerusalem, this change would be no more than an arbitrary guess to solve an exegetical dilemma. Its integrity improves greatly, however, if the installation was in Beer-Sheba, in the semi-arid wilderness where these creatures are found (cf. Isa. 13:21; 34:14).[1] But the most suggestive piece of evidence is the Chronicler's report that Jeroboam I "appointed for himself priests for the bamoth and for the he-goats, and for the calves which he had made" (2 Chron. 11:15); the only attestation of the worship of "he-goats" prohibited in Lev. 17:7 associates the practice with North Israelite religiosity and, interestingly enough, with the resettling of northern cultic personnel in Judah. There is some justification for supposing, therefore, that the Israelitish cultus at Beer-Sheba might have been conducted at a "bamah of the he-goats."[2]

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[1] See Chapter III.G.2 above.

[2] Furthermore, since the biblical record is otherwise silent on the subject, we would have to conclude either that the other gate-bamoth survived Josiah's reform untouched, or that all bamoth were associated with gates--neither of which seems very likely.

[3] Vaughan, *Meaning*, p. 61 note 41. So also Skinner, Benzinger, Burney, Stade and Schwally, Eissfeldt, Landersdorfer, Montgomery. Cf. also G. Hoffmann, "Kleinigkeiten," *ZAW*, II (1882), 175; Delitzsch, *Lese- und Schreibfehler*, p. 80; Albright, "High Place," p. 245; Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion*, pp. 176, 296. Gray would read *šō'^{a}rîm*, "gate-keepers" (= gate genii: *I-II Kings*, p. 730 note j).

[4] On *ś^{e}'îrîm* as "fertility deities, rain-gods," see Snaith, "Meaning of *ś^{e}'îrîm*," pp. 115-118. Snaith's objections to the conventional "satyrs" are sound, but he goes too far in completely rejecting the word's zoomorphic connotations.

VI.C.6. At Gibeon

The Levitical city of Gibeon, some five miles from Jerusalem, possessed a bamah of particular significance:

wayyēlek hammelek gib'ōnāh lizbōaḥ šām kî hî'

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[1] Cf. J. M. Grintz, "'Do Not Eat on the Blood': Reconsiderations in Setting and Dating of the Priestly Code," ASTI, VIII (1970-1971), 90ff.

[2] Note that a third incense altar found at Beer-Sheba (Locus 532) bears drawings of several animals, including an "animal with large horns (mountain goat?)"; see Stern, in Beer-Sheba I, p. 52 and pls. 29:1-2, 52:6. It "shows surprising resemblance to" an altar from Samaria (cf. G. A. Reisner et al., Harvard Excavations at Samaria: 1908-1910, Vol. II [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924], pl. 80:a-c), and on the strength of the parallel is dated to the 6th-5th centuries.

> habbāmâ hagg^{e}dôlâ, 'elep 'ōlôt ya'^{a}leh š^{e}lōmōh 'al hammizbēaḥ hahû';
>
> and the king went to Gibeon to sacrifice there because it (was) the great bamah; a thousand burnt-offerings Solomon would offer up upon that altar (1 Kgs. 3:4).

Vaughan argues that habbāmâ and hammizbēaḥ must be synonymous because "the expression 'that altar' seems to suppose a previous mention of the altar."[1] Our syntactical findings obviate this interpretation;[2] the plain meaning of the passage is that the altar was part of a larger sanctuary installation--the bamah--at Gibeon. This is clearly the Chronicler's understanding of the scene, for he places both the altar of burnt-offerings and the tabernacle babbāmâ, "in the bamah" (1 Chron. 16:39f.; 21:29). He further defines the location of the sanctuary as b^{e}gib'ôn, "in (the city of) Gibeon" (1 Chron. 16:39; 21:29; 2 Chron. 1:3, 13), consistent with the urban locus of bamoth generally.[3]

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[1] Vaughan, Meaning, p. 33. See also Benzinger's suggestion that 'al-hammizbēaḥ should be changed to 'al-habbāmâ (Könige, p. 15). Cf. Stade and Schwally, Kings, p. 72.

[2] See Chapter II.E above. Moreover, it might be wondered why two words would be used here to refer to the same altar.

[3] *Pace* the usual identification of the "high-place" with Nebi Samwil, the most imposing natural elevation in the area, but almost

In addition to an altar, it is obvious that this bamah must have possessed a building of some sort, for one cannot imagine that Solomon's nocturnal conversation with Yahweh occurred while he was sleeping *alfresco* (1 Kgs. 3:5-14; 2 Chron. 1:7-12).[1] A comparable episode in the KRT Epic takes place in the king's "chamber" (*ḫdr*).[2] In 1 Sam. 3, the closest biblical parallel to Solomon's experience, Samuel is "lying down in the temple(-room?) of Yahweh" (*šōkēb b^{e}hêkal YHWH*), presumably in the presence of the Ark (vs. 3), when Yahweh appeared and conversed with him.[3] It

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a mile away from the ancient city (el-Jib): so, e.g., A. von Gall, *Altisraelitische Kultstätten*, BZAW, III (Giessen: J. Ricker, 1898), 90 note 4; J. B. Pritchard, *Gibeon, Where the Sun Stood Still: The Discovery of the Biblical City* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), p. 39; de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, p. 306; J. Blenkinsopp, *Gibeon and Israel: The Role of Gibeon and the Gibeonites in the Political and Religious History of Early Israel*, Society for Old Testament Studies Monograph Series, II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 7, 110 note 28. This identification has been challenged by J. Simon, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959), p. 327; cf. also Soggin, "Offiziell geförderte Synkretismus in Israel," p. 190 note 25.

[1] So, e.g., Schunck, "*bāmâ*," p. 143.

[2] 14(KRT).1.26. See F. C. Fensham, "Remarks on Keret 26-43," *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*, II (1972), 38f. Cf. 1 Kgs. 20:30; 22:25; 2 Kgs. 9:2.

[3] The hekal was part of the beth-Yahweh (vs. 15). For a discussion of the episode and the parallel account of a dream-vision of a priest of Ishtar, also occurring (presumably) in the cella of a temple, see A. L. Oppenheim, "The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, XLVI, no. 3 (1956), 189f., 200f., 249.

should also be noted that when "Yahweh appeared to Solomon a second time as he had appeared to him in Gibeon" (1 Kgs. 9:2), he evidently did so in the newly-built Temple in Jerusalem.[1]

VI.D. The Bamoth of Moab

The "Moabite Stone," an inscribed stele erected by the Moabite king Mesha (c. 850) to memorialize himself and his reign,[2] contains the only extant extra-biblical reference to a cultic installation called a "bamah." This technical use of the word in a Moabite document establishes that it is not a neologism peculiar to the Old Testament;[3] the specificity of the technical term also cannot be denied. The fact that Moabite bamoth are also mentioned in the biblical record makes it possible to examine them from two roughly contemporary but independent ancient perspectives.

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[1] The historical and compositional problems surrounding this pericope lie outside the scope of this study; cf. Blenkinsopp, Gibeon and Israel.

[2] See especially [J.] M. Miller, "The Moabite Stone as a Memorial Stele," PEQ, CVI (1974), 9-18. Cf. J. D. Davis, "The Moabite Stone and the Hebrew Records," AJSL (= Hebraica), VII (1891), 178-182. The conventional view holds that the stele commemorates Mesha's recently concluded revolt from Israelite domination. Miller's contrary opinion is based upon an analysis of the literary form of the inscription when compared to that of the roughly contemporary inscriptions of Azitawadda, Kilamuwa, and Barrakib, which he considers representative of a literary genre of royal memorial inscriptions (rather than strictly building dedications, since their primary purpose was to commemorate the royal builder, not the building). For these texts, see H. Donner and W. Röllig, Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften (3 vols.; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1962-1964), Nos. 24, 26, and 216, and ANET, pp. 653-655.

[3] The opinion of S. Segert that the inscription was written by an Israelite prisoner-of-war ("Die Sprache der moabitischen Königsinschrift," Archiv Orientální, XXIX [1961], 255) is most improbable.

VI.D.1. The "Moabite Stone"[1]

After identifying himself and his claim to the throne (an introduction characteristic of a memorial inscription), Mesha states in l. 3: *w’'ś . hbmt . z’t . lkmš . bqrẖh*; "and I made this bamah for Kemosh in *qrẖh*." There is no doubt that the fem. sing. *hbmt* is the Moabite form of Hebr. BMH. From this passage, therefore, we learn that a bamah is something that is "made" and that this particular bamah was located "in *qrẖh*" and was associated in some way with the stele which conveys this information. This bamah was "to/for Kemosh," the divine patron of the king and the principal deity of the realm, "the prime cause of everything that happened in the land of Moab."[2]

The next phrase is made difficult by the poor condition of the stele. The letter following *bqrẖh* is a *b*, and the next is either an *m* or an *n*,[3] but the rest of l. 3 is lost; the phrase concludes with *š'* (or *ś'*) at the beginning of l. 4. Of the several restorations proposed over the years the two most widely accepted are *bm[t . y]š'* ("bamah of deliverance")[1] and *bn[s . y]š'* ("banner of deliverance").[2] Both make the phrase a further definition of what Mesha "made." The bamah for Kemosh would thus have been connected directly with Mesha's revolt against Israel as an expression of gratitude to the god who had made victory possible. Accordingly, one could see it as either a victory stele dedicated to the god, or some sort of altar or sanctuary structure for the worship of Kemosh specifically as the "deliverer" of Moab.

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[1] See Donner and Röllig, *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften*, No. 181, and *ANET*, pp. 320f.

[2] Van Zyl, *Moabites*, p. 199; cf. pp. 180ff. and 196ff.

[3] This ambiguity dates from the earliest studies of the docu-

Most commentators accept the latter alternative on the basis of the biblical materials. Albright advocates the former and claims

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ment (e.g., C. Clermont-Ganneau, "La Stele de Dhiban," *Revue Archéologique*, XXI [1870], 361) and seems beyond resolution.

[1] Cf. R. Dussaud, *Les Monuments palestiniens et Judaïques* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1912), pp. 5f. More recently: H. Michaud, *Sur la Pierre et l'Argile: Inscriptions hébraiques et Ancien Testament*, Cahiers d'Archéologie Biblique, X (Neuchâtel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1958), 36; E. Ullendorff, "The Moabite Stone," *Documents from Old Testament Times*, ed. by D. W. Thomas (New York: Harper & Row, 1961), p. 196; F. I. Andersen, "Moabite Syntax," *Orientalia*, XXXV (1966), 82; J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 75f., 78.

[2] So, e.g., van Zyl, *Moabites*, p. 189 note 6; Donner and Röllig, *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften*, II, 168, 172; K. Galling, *Textbuch zur Geschichte Israels*, 2d ed. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1968), p. 52.

that the stone bearing the inscription is the stele in question.[1] But if this document is viewed not as a commemoration of the revolt per se, but as a memorial survey of those accomplishments of his entire reign which Mesha considered especially noteworthy, this identification cannot be upheld.[2] This understanding of the document lessens somewhat the probability of the two reconstructions as well, since it affords no compelling contextual reason for associating the purpose of the bamāh with Mesha's successful revolt. From ll. 21ff. it would appear, on the contrary, that the bamah was "made" in the course of an extensive building program at Qrḥh, a program which presupposes Moabite independence, but otherwise has no connection with the revolt, and which must have taken some time to complete.[3]

Both of these restorations have been challenged by E. Lipiński on other grounds.[1] Neither of them takes into account the "sentence boundry" immediately following *bqrḥh*; this vertical stroke argues strongly against making the next phrase syntactically dependent upon what precedes it.[2] Lipiński also notes that a blank space (a defect in the squeeze taken before the stele was broken up) after the *m*/*n* calls for an additional letter with these reconstructions overlook.[3] He reads *bn[th . n]š'*, "as a victor I built it," which would begin a new sentence explaining the circumstances by which the bamah came into being.[1] Although this restoration (no less than the other two) is conjectural and thus an insecure premise for further speculation,[2] those circumstances are clear enough. Having established himself as the ruler of an independent sovereign kingdom, Mesha undertook several construction projects at Qrḥh of which one was a bamah for Kemosh.

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[1] See Albright, "From the Patriarchs to Moses, II," p. 74 (the stele "is called explicitly a bamah" in l. 3--certainly an overstatement!); cf. idem, "High Place," p. 248.

[2] Cf. Barrick, "Funerary Character," pp. 589ff.

[3] Cf. Miller, "Moabite Stone," pp. 12f. The inscription obviously could not have been composed until all the construction work mentioned in it had been completed, and it is hard to imagine palace-building and the like going on concurrently with the military campaigns against Israel. Note that Solomon's palace alone took 13 years to build (1 Kgs. 7:1).

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[1] E. Lipiński, "Etymological and Exegetical Notes on the Meša' Inscription," *Orientalia*, XL (1971), 327f.

[2] See Anderson, "Moabite Syntax," pp. 85ff. In all but three of at least 37 occurrences in the inscription these strokes mark off units of one or more sentences. The exceptions are in l. 16 (where the stroke may have been needed to separate the "seven thousand *gbrn* and *grn*" from the group of unnumbered "*gbrt* and *grt* and *rḥmt*" [cf. Ex. 12:37]), in l. 30 (where it may be used similarly to limit the referent of *šm*), and here in l. 3; cf. Lipinski, "Etymological and Exegetical Notes," pp. 327f. note 16.

[3] See Dussaud, *Monuments*, p. 6 note 3. There is little discussion of this space in the secondary literature; a few commentators have denied its existence (e.g., C. Clermont-Ganneau, *La Stèle de Mésa: Examen critique du Texte* [Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1887], p. 19; J. Teixidor, "Bulletin d'Epigraphie Sémitique, 1972," *Syria*, XLIX [1972], 428), while others have offered without comment reconstructions which presuppose sufficient room for at least three letters: e.g., R. Smend and A. Socin, *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab* (Freiburg: J. C. B. Mohr, 1886), pp. 12f., 17, and A. Nordlander, *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab* (Leipzig: W. Drugulin, 1896), pp. 10f., 25 (both reading *bm[š' . m]š'*); M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, I (Giessen: J. Ricker, 1902), 4 (reading *bn[sk . y]š'*); T. C. Vriezen and J. H. Hospers, *Palestinian Inscriptions*, Textus Minores, XVII (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1951), 15 note 2 (reading *bn[sbt . y]š'*). Cf. also G. A. Cooke, *A Textbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), pp. 1f., 7. The relevant portion of the document itself has not been preserved.

The place-name Qrḥh (its vocalization and meaning are unknown) is attested only in this inscription,[3] and here the passage which most illuminates its identity is both lexically and syntactically ambiguous. In 1. 24 Mesha states that there were no cisterns *bqrb . hqr . bqrḥh*. The word QR presents lexical problems because, strictly speaking, it could denote no more than an inhabited area surrounded by a wall (cf. Hebr. *qîr*, "wall") without indicating its size.[1] It is usually taken to be the Moabite term for "city, walled town," but this is uncertain.[2] If, as most commentators maintain, the two prepositional phrases in this passage are used appositionally, Qrḥh would be the name of the *qr* or of that part of the *qr* which lacked cisterns: "in the midst of the *qr*, (namely,) in Qrḥh."[3] If the phrases are not in apposition, Qrḥh would be the name of the larger locality (perhaps a region) where the qr was situated: "in the midst of the qr (which is) in Qrḥh."[1] Against the latter interpretation, however, is its progression of locational modifiers from the specific to the general, the reverse of what would be expected from normal Hebrew style.[2] It is probable, therefore, that Qrḥh was an urban area, either a town or a particular section of a town,[3] which received exceptional treatment by the king and in which he set up this stele in his own memory.[4]

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[1] nš' being a Niphal participle from YŠ' (Hebr. nōšā', "delivered, saved," here "victorious" [cf. Zech. 9:9]). Lipiński translates: "As a victor I built it because [Kemosh] saved me from all the kings and caused me to look down upon all my enemies." He sees the bamah here being defined as a commemoration of victory in the revolt. The sense seems rather to be that the overthrow of foreign domination was considered the necessary precondition for a successful reign in which such building projects were possible; see the following note.

[2] The following lines (ll. 4-6) introduce the account of the revolt by summarizing the wretched state of affairs which existed at Mesha's accession and which his reign corrected: "Omri, king of Israel, had oppressed Moab for many days, for Kemosh was angry with his land; his son succeeded him and he too said 'I will oppress Moab'." Miller considers this contrast between the successful reign of the present king and the less successful reign of his predecessor to be a literary characteristic of this genre ("Moabite Stone," especially pp. 15f.). Lipiński's restoration and the interpretation advanced in the preceding note would suit this context quite well, since it is precisely because Mesha is "victorious" in establishing Moabite independence that distinguishes his reign from his father's.

[3] Cf. pp. 363f. note 3 below. A possible allusion is the reference to "baldness" (qorḥâ) in Isa. 15:2c.

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[1] Cf. H. J. Dreyer, "The Roots QR, 'R, ĠR and Ṣ/ṬR = 'Stone, Wall, City,' Etc.," *De Fructu Oris Sui: Essays in Honor of Adrianus van Selms*, Pretoria Oriental Series, IX (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971), 17-25.

[2] Even if QR should mean only "fortress, citadel," this alone is no sure guarantee of function or size (cf. the royal city of Dur-Šarrukin, a "fortress" covering some 600 acres). What is said about Ataroth, a *qr* in "the land of Ataroth" (11. 10ff.), suggests a population center of some substance. Andersen maintains ("Moabite Syntax," p. 118 note 8; cf. p. 117) that QR denotes a city in the military sections of the inscription, but a citadel in the later building sections where it "can hardly be a city in the full sense like Ataroth if hundreds of them were added to the land" (1. 29). But this interpretation of 1. 29 is uncertain, for the relevant portion of the text is missing; elsewhere (pp. 91, 95f.) Andersen seems to favor a different reconstruction for which "cities" is the preferred translation.

[3] So, e.g., Michaud, Donner and Röllig, Galling, Gibson, Lipiński. Cf. also Segert, "Sprache," p. 233.

It is reasonable to suppose that this town was Dibon, the capital of Mesha's kingdom.[5] This supposition is assured if the stele was discovered approximately *in situ*, for it was found on a 6-acre mound just northwest of the modern village which preserves the ancient name of the Moabite capital. Topographical vulnerability on its eastern flank would have made the site of the village itself strategically undesirable for major settlement in antiquity, and thus it has been suggested that both Dibon and Qrḫh occupied the adjacent northwestern mound. Perhaps, as the excavators of the site have proposed, *qrḫh* was "the official name of a new royal suburb added to the existing town of Dibon," with the name of the older settlement used as a general designation of the whole.[1] Excavation has established that the earliest building activity at the southeastern corner of this mound occurred during Mesha's reign.[2] It is most likely, therefore, that Qrḫh occupied this hitherto undeveloped hillock[3] where, in fact, Mesha's stele was found.[4]

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[1] So Andersen, "Moabite Syntax," pp. 92f.

[2] Andersen concedes this weakness (ibid., p. 92). An example of the progression from the general to the specific occurs in ll. 21f. (the walls being specific projects in Qrḥh); cf. ibid., p. 89.

[3] This conclusion is precluded only if Andersen's view of the syntax of l. 24 is correct and QR is taken to mean "city"--which Andersen claims cannot be the case in this section of the inscription.

[4] Could Absalom's maṣṣebah in Jerusalem (2 Sam. 18:18) have been such a memorial (erected, perhaps propagandistically, in anticipation of his reign)?

[5] It could be inferred from 2 Kgs. 3:25ff. that Qir-Ḥareseth (= el-Kerak?) was the Moabite capital, or at least a royal residence, early in Mesha's reign. The fragmentary inscription of his father found at el-Kerak would support this view (cf. W. L. Reed and F. V. Winnett, "A Fragment of an Early Moabite Inscription from Kerak," BASOR, CLXXII [1963], 1-9), but other interpretations are equally possible (cf., e.g., van Zyl, Moabites, pp. 69ff., 142f.).

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[1] F. V. Winnett, in *idem* and W. L. Reed, *The Excavations at Dibon (Dhībân) in Moab*, AASOR, XXXVI-XXXVII (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1964), 7, seeing Dibon-Qrḫh superseding Qir-Ḫareseth for strategic reasons (p. 6); cf. van Zyl, *Moabites*, pp. 77ff. From ll. 20f. it appears that "Dibon" (unlike "Qrḫh"?) could also refer to territory outside the city wall.

[2] Cf. A. D. Tushingham, *The Excavations at Dibon (Dhībân) in Moab: The Third Campaign, 1952-1953*, AASOR, XL (Cambridge, Mass.: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1972), 23f.

[3] Cf. *ibid*., p. 23: "All the evidence supports the conclusion that the valley surrounding the mound had its low point at the Southeast corner. We may conclude perhaps, that it was the hillock at the Southeastern corner of the mound, protected by valleys to the east, south and west, which first attracted some ruler of Dibon [= Mesha]

If this assessment is correct, we have a striking parallel between Mesha's actions and those of Solomon who added a new royal quarter to his capital city, Jerusalem. There is no evidence, textual or archaeological, that David enlarged the old Jebusite city (the "City of David") to any significant extent,[1] although he seems to have taken some preliminary steps in that direction.[2]

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and encouraged him to extend the city walls in a loop (Walls I, H, 0, 20) to enclose it." For an attempt to link the topography to the name "Qrḫh," see p. 24. Note however, B. Mazar's suggestion (in *Encyclopedia Biblica*, Vol. IV [Jerusalem: Instituti Bialik, 1962], col. 923 [in Hebrew]) that the name should be equated with Akk. *kirḫu*, used for the inner walled "citadel city" containing the temple and palace, a feature of urban planning in Mesopotamia; cf. A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), pp. 131f., and *CAD*, VIII (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1971), 404f. (where it is considered a foreign word meaning "citadel, fortified area within a city," and "circumvallation, enclosure wall of a sanctuary").

[4] Cf. D. Mackenzie, "Dibon: The City of King Mesha and of the Moabite Stone," *PEFQSt* (1913), pp. 73f.; Winnett, in *Excavations at Dibon*, p. 7 and note 18. Note, however, the reservations of R. E. Murphy, "A Fragment of an Early Moabite Inscription from Dibon," *BASOR*, CXXV (1952), 20 note 2.

[1] Cf. 2 Sam. 5:9b. 1 Chron. 11:8 adds that Joab *y^{e}ḫayyeh* ("let live, preserved, restored") "the rest of the city," which is often taken to mean that he undertook further repair or construction, but may well refer instead to the preservation of the existing Jebusite population of the city; so, e.g., P. R. Ackroyd, *I-II Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah*, Torch Bible Commentaries (London: SCM, 1973), p. 52. On the millo (= "filling") as the vulnerable built-up slope within the existing wall, see Kenyon, *Jerusalem*, pp. 32, 49ff.

[2] By acquisition of the northeastern hill (assuming that the episode recorded in 2 Sam. 24:18ff. and 1 Chron. 21:18ff. is not a Solomonic fiction to justify his building of the Temple there). The pre-Israelite sacrality of this site and its connection with the Jebu-

He may have been too busy with foreign conquests,[1] but with a reign of 33 years "in Jerusalem" (2 Sam. 5:5b), an above-average length by Old Testament standards, other factors may well have contributed to this noticeable restraint.[2] In any event, the city inherited

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site city are matters of conjecture. It seems to have been the private property of the Jebusite king (2 Sam. 24:23), but his presence as a landowner after had established himself in Jerusalem is something of a problem. Perhaps after siezing control of the city David deposed the old king (cf. W. G. E. Watson, "David Ousts the City Ruler of Jebus," VT, XX [1970], 501-502) and confined him as a pensioner to this nearby estate (as he was to do with Mephibosheth, the last of Saul's dynasty [2 Sam. 9; 16:3; 19:28f.]), thereby removing this royal rival without antagonizing the Jebusite elements of his nascent kingdom by an overt act of regicide. The texts are at pains to emphasize that David's acquisition of this area was a lawful transfer of ownership (so also the site of Samaria by Omri [1 Kgs. 16:24] and the site of Dur-Šarrukin by Sargon II) and was not achieved by right of conquest or royal prerogative. The site of the political and religious center of the kingdom thus lay outside the territorial claims of all the component members of the kingdom, including those of Jebusite Jerusalem, and became the unique possession of the ruling dynasty.

[1] So, e.g., Kenyon, Jerusalem, p. 53.

[2] An explanation may be found in David's keen political acumen (evidenced in the account of his rise to power). The rebellions later in his reign suggest that the personal unions which had brought all Palestine together under his control became strained as the hegemony thus achieved became less ad hoc through imposition of the institutions of dynastic monarchy. One such institution is the "capital city," seat of the kingship and focal point of the secular and religious life of the realm: cf. G. Buccellati, "The Enthronement of the King and the Capital City in Texts from Ancient Mesopotamia and Syria," Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1964), pp. 54-61; idem, Cities and Nations of Ancient Syria, Studi Semitici, XXVI (Rome: Istituto di Studi del Vicino Oriente, 1967), 223f. et passim. To make Jerusalem (until now an alien urban enclave) such a focal point for all the component members of the kingdom would have contravened the autonomy which those

by Solomon was simply too small and unimpressive to serve as the capital city of an oriental monarchy "like all the nations" (1 Sam. 8:5).[1] More importantly, perhaps, it lacked the architectural (and symbolic) machinery needed for the efficient operation of such a monarchy. Solomon rectified these deficiencies by incorporating the northeastern hill as a fortified governmental compound.[2] There he constructed his palace, various other governmental buildings, and a temple for the national deity.[3]

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members formerly enjoyed and may have been unwilling to surrender all at once--if at all. The danger of showing preference to one member at the expense of the others, a major factor in the breakup of the kingdom half a century after David (cf. B. Halpern, "Sectionalism and the Schism," JBL, XCIII [1974], 519-532), would have been particularly acute during its initial establishment in David's lifetime. David's attitude toward Jerusalem, in contrast to that of his successor, may reflect something of the gradual process by which he tried to forge a viable political unity from these originally disparate elements.

[1] According to Bright, because David left the indigenous population intact "the city could scarcely at once have received a great influx of Israelites. Though Israelites certainly flocked to the capital in increasing numbers as the years passed, it is probable that initially few besides David's own household and retinue (itself a considerable body) removed thither" (History of Israel, p. 195). From the water supply available to the city, its maximum population under David has been estimated at 2500 (50 persons per 1000 square meters): J. Wilkinson, "Ancient Jerusalem: Its Water Supply and Population," PEQ, CVI (1974), 50.

[2] Cf. Kenyon, Jerusalem, ch. 3.

[3] This last cannot be denied on the basis of the Temple's locational proximity to the palace; in antiquity as in more recent times royal palaces served both as private residences and as seats of government. Solomon's Temple was at once, and from its inception,

This is quite close indeed to what we are told of Mesha's construction projects in Qrḥh (11. 21-26). He fortified the place with walls, gates, and towers. Like Solomon,[1] he made provisions for an adequate water supply. He "built" a royal palace in Qrḥh.[2] And he "made" a bamah there for the national deity.

The parallel[3] is not more than suggestive, however, for the inscription and the archaeological remains provide no details about the nature of Mesha's bamah or how it was used.[4] If Lipiński's

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the private chapel of the Davidic dynasty and the national sanctuary of the Davidic state, the two roles being coterminous in ideological significance and actual practice.

[1] Cf. Wilkinson, "Ancient Jerusalem," pp. 36f. The "Etam System," here attributed to Solomon, brought water directly into the Temple area; it would have supported a maximum population twice that of the Davidic city (5000 persons; 37 persons per 1000 square meters [p. 50]).

[2] Context precludes Andersen's suggestion that bt . mlk might be a place-name ("Moabite Syntax," pp. 94f.).

[3] The double name "Jerusalem-Zion" (e.g., 2 Kgs. 19:21) invites a further parallel; thus van Zyl suggests that Qrḥh was "a section of Dibon, closed in by the walls of Dibon, as for instance Zion was a part of Jerusalem" (Moabites, p. 79). Note also the topographical similarities (the annexation of an adjacent but somewhat isolated hill) and the fact that both royal builders were natives of the cities which they enlarged.

[4] The occupational remains thus far uncovered within the city walls at this corner of the mound are too skimpy for speculation; cf. Tushingham, Excavations at Dibon, p. 24 and Sheet 3. Tushingham (ibid., p. 24) and others (e.g., M.-R. Savignac, "Sur les Pistes de Transjordanie Méridionale," RB, XLV [1936], 238) assume that the stele would have been erected within the precincts of a temple-complex.

restoration of ll. 3f. is correct, the bamah was "built" and thus can be placed in the same category as "walls," "gates," "towers," and "palaces" for which the verb BNH has also been used (ll. 21-23). One could reasonably infer from this that the bamah was some sort of temple-building. The verb 'ṠH, about which there is no textual difficulty in l. 3, is more general; in the inscription it is used for "reservoirs" (l. 9) and "cisterns" (ll. 24f.), essentially matters of digging, but also for "highways" (l. 26), a construction project involving different kinds of labor.

The inscription goes on to mention work at Aroer, located 4 km. south of Dibon-Qrḥh at the Arnon: "It was I (who) built Aroer, and it was I (who) made the highway *b'rn[n]*" (l. 26). The last phrase is variously translated, but it undoubtedly refers to the main road through Aroer connecting Dibon-Qrḥh with the King's Highway at its junction with the Arnon.[1] Mesha then states that he "built *bt . bmt* because it was destroyed" (l. 27). *bt . bmt* is usually identified with *bāmôt ba'al* in Josh. 13:17 and treated as a place-name.[2] But since no town with the name *bt . bmt* is known

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There can be little doubt that what if left of Mesha's bamah lies--significantly enough--beneath the later Nabatean temple building and its fill which have not yet been cleared.

[1] Cf. Andersen, "Moabite Syntax," p. 95.

[2] See also Num. 22:41, where "Bamoth-Baal" is presumably the

outside this passage, and since the expression is well-attested in the Old Testament as denoting a cultic installation, it is not impossible that this is what is meant here. Excavations at Aroer have revealed a 50-meter square fortress. The area within the walls has not been cleared sufficiently to permit identification of any architectural remains,[1] but as the contemporary Israelite fortress at Arad demonstrates,[2] such a settlement could be expected to possess a temple-building.

VI.D.2. The Biblical Evidence

The principal biblical evidence pertaining to the bamah phenomenon in Moaḇ is Isa. 15:2a and 16:12. Y. Elitzur has suggested that the author of the original poem preserved in Isa. 15-16 (and Jer. 48) "was well acquainted with the Mesha inscription."[3] This view is extreme and highly speculative, but there is no reason to

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name of a mountain in the region. The identification is extended to include bāmôt, the name of a stopping place in the wilderness itinery evidently near the Moabite border, in Num. 21:19f. Cf. Grintz, "Observations," p. 112.

[1] See E. Olávarri, "Sondages à 'Arô'er sur l'Arnon," RB, LXXII (1965), 77-94; idem, "Fouilles à 'Arô'er sur l'Arnon," RB, LXXVI (1969), 230-259. Cf. W. G. Dever, "Aroer," Supplement to the Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, ed. by K. Crim et al. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1976), p. 55.

[2] See p. 292 note 1 above.

[3] Y. Elitzur, "The Moab Prophecy and the Moabite Stone," Bar-Ilan, I (1963), xx (English summary).

suppose that the inscription and the poem have not been informed by the same realia of Moabite culture.[1]

Isa. 15:2a reads *'ālâ habbayit w^{e}dîbōn habbāmôt l^{e}bekî*. If Wernberg-Møller's explanation of the syntax is adopted[2] and the semantic implications of the 'LH + 0 idiom acknowledged,[3] the passage may be rendered "Dibon has gone up (to) *habbayit*, (to) *habbāmôt* to weep." Wernberg-Møller takes *habbayit* and *habbāmôt* as place-names, an interpretation supported by the occurrence of both terms elsewhere in place-names associated with Moabite territory.[4] According to this view, "Dibon/Moab" (= Moabites as a whole) lamented its fate at a number of locations throughout the country. Although the reference is to the desperation of the entire nation, the scene depicted in 15:2-3 seems, rather, to be of the mourning and lamentation taking place within a single city, Dibon, the capital of Moab and thus its most fitting personification, over the destruction of the country.[1] "Streets," "squares," and "rooftops" are all features of an urban landscape[2] and, if the image has been understood correctly, so too ought to be *habbayit*[3] and *habbāmôt*.

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[1] If we assume that Isa. 15-16 is based upon an older poem, this prototype and Mesha's inscription are separated by no more than a century.

[2] See p. 136 above.

[3] See Chapter II.B above.

[4] Beth-Diblathaim (Jer. 48:22), Beth-Gamul and Beth-Meon (Jer. 48:23), Bamoth (Num. 21:19f.), Bamoth-Baal (Num. 22:41; Josh. 13:17), Bamoth-Arnon (Num. 21:28 [see Chapter III.A above]), Beth-Bamoth (MI. 27 [but see above]).

There is no difficulty in taking *habbayit* as "the (temple-) house" of Kemosh, to whom appeal certainly would have been made in such times of national crisis.[4] It is tempting, however, to suggest that the poet has made use of a stylistic device by deliberately breaking up a compound phrase and distributing its elements between the first and second members of the hemistich.[5] A possible indication that this is the case is the fact that *'ālâ habbayit* is unprecedented in biblical usage; when *bayit* is the destination of the 'LH + 0 idiom it is always as the first element of a compound phrase.[1] If we are dealing with a broken compound phrase, and if the place-name Beth-Bamoth is not intended, the reference would be to a sanctuary building--a beth-bamoth--in Dibon for the worship of Kemosh.

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[1] The idiom YLL + 'L used in 15:2b can mean either that Moab howls while situated upon Nebo and Medeba (cf. Isa. 15:3; Hos. 7:14) or that Moab howls over what has happened to Nebo and Medeba (cf. Jer. 48:31; 51:8; Hos. 7:14; 10:5 [as emended]; Joel 1:5, 11; Micah 1:8). Inspite of YLL + L in Isa. 16:7 (found elsewhere only in Ezek. 30:2), the second interpretation is preferable (with, e.g., Procksch, Kissane, Herbert, Kaiser). The superimposition implied by 'L *locale* might be appropriate for Nebo (cf. Num. 33:47; Deut. 32:49; 34:1), but not for Medeba which is a "land" (MI. 8f.) and not a mountain.

[2] *ḥûṣ* (lit. "what is outside") and *rᵉḥōb* ("broad place") occur, often in parallel, in urban descriptions (e.g., Jer. 5:1; 7:17, 34; 9:20; Ezek. 11:6; 28:23; Amos 5:16; Dan. 9:25; Neh. 8:1, 3, 16; 2 Chron. 32:6), although like *gag* they need not be restricted to an urban setting.

[3] Furthermore, as an abbreviation for a compound place-name *habbayit* would be unprecedented.

[4] In this case, *habbayit* and *habbāmôt* may be in apposition.

[5] On this feature, see E. Z. Melamed, "Break-Up of Stereotype Phrases as an Artistic Device in Biblical Poetry," *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, VIII (1961), 115-153.

Isa. 16:12 has already been discussed in some detail in Chapter III.J above:

> *w^{e}hāyâ kî-nir'â kî nil'â mô'āb 'al-habbāmâ, ûbā'*
> *'el-miqdāšô l^{e}hitpallēl w^{e}lō' yûkāl*;
> and it will be (that) when Moab appears (and) toils
> at the bamah and comes to his sanctuary to pray he
> will not prevail.

Commentators generally agree that this verse looks back to 15:2. It is significant, therefore, that in 16:12 *bāmâ* is used evidently in complementary parallel with *miqdāš* as in Amos 7:9. We have already noted that *miqdāš* denotes a sanctuary building or temple-complex in biblical Hebrew and thus is synonymous with *bayit*, "(temple-)house."[1]

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[1] Judg. 14:19; 2 Kgs. 19:14; 20:5, 8; 23:2; Isa. 37:14; 38:22; Jer. 26:10; 2 Chron. 29:20; 34:30. For compound place-names with *bêt*-: Gen. 35:1, 3; Josh. 15:6; 16:1; Judg. 1:22; 20:18, 31; 1 Sam. 6:9; 10:3; 2 Kgs. 2:33; Hos. 4:15.

The following reconstruction of the development of these two passages may be suggested by means of a summary. Isa. 15:2 belongs to the original (pre-Isaianic?) poem and depicts the personified Moab coming to the beth-bamoth of Dibon to lament the impending destruction of the country.[2] Isa. 16:12 (which may have been added subsequently, perhaps in conjunction with vss. 13f.)[3] is a continuation of this scene, but has either misunderstood the syntax of 15:2a or has deliberately expanded the two elements of the broken compound separately (*habbayit*/*habbāmôt* : *habbāmâ*/*miqdāšô*). The preposition 'L in 16:12 (if authentic) does not signify superimposition, but the more neutral location "at." It may be that this preposition was suggested by the verb 'LH in 15:2a which, syntactically, does not imply superimposition there.

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[1] See p. 316 note 2 above.

[2] This interpretation assumes that Nebo and Medeba have already fallen to the enemy or that their capitulation is imminent, making them the proper objects of lamentation. It is not possible to be certain, of course, since so much depends upon the direction and extent of the invasion and the location of the enigmatic places mentioned in vs. 1. The parallel version of the poem in Jer. 48 removes this ambiguity; the enemy is said to have come from Heshbon (vs. 2; cf. Isa. 15:4) north of Nebo, and vs. 1 states flatly that Nebo has been destroyed.

[3] Vs. 12 effectively blunts the sympathetic tone of what precedes it, making it a fitting introduction to the very hostile epilogue.

Although the mourning activity described in Isa. 15-16 (wailing, shaving of the head and beard, wearing of sackcloth, prayer) is said to have occurred throughout Dibon (15:3), we may assume that the beth-bamoth (or bamah, or "sanctuary") of the city was an especially appropriate site. Biblical accounts of similar responses to national crises are not without significance to further illuminate this scene. Of particular interest is Joel 1:13f. where the priests, wailing and clad in sackcloth, direct the people's supplications for divine intervention in ceremonies conducted at the Temple of Yahweh, and apparently participate in special nocturnal rites there as well.[1] This may be compared with, e.g., 2 Chron. 20:9: "If evil, sword, judgment, or pestilence, or famine comes upon us, we will stand before this House . . . and cry to you from our affliction, and you will hear and deliver (us)."

VI.E. Conclusions

While the evidence is sparse, the passages examined thus far permit the conclusion that a bamah was a sanctuary-complex of some architectural sophistication. We have found nothing that suggests the traditional scholarly picture of a primitive sacred precinct "of ephemeral or unspecialized character."[1] On the contrary, the texts uniformly seem to point to an installation of temple status, i.e., a built-up sacred area consisting of a roofed cult building with adjacent "chambers" and open courtyards, not fundamentally unlike the architectural composition of the Temple of Solomon[2] or the Israelite temple-complex at Arad.[3]

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[1] Cf. Ahlström, Joel, p. 52. For a discussion of the cultic activities which might be expected at such times, see Mowinckel, Psalms in Israel's Worship, Vol. I, chs. 6 and 7. Cf. also D. R. Ap-Thomas, "Some Notes on the Old Testament Attitude to Prayer," Scottish Journal of Theology, IX (1956), 427.

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[1] C. C. McCown, "Hebrew High Places and Cult Remains," *JBL*, LXIX (1950), 218.

[2] According to G. R. H. Wright, the "elemental ideas" which characterize the rudimentary bamah--height, open space, maşşeboth, asherim--"interpenetrate and are embodied in more substantial religious buildings" in various ways ("Pre-Israelite Temples in the Land of Canaan," *PEQ*, CIII 1971 , 22). By this definition even the Temple of Solomon--with its hill, open-air altar, and asherah (2 Kgs. 23:6)--would qualify as a bamah and, indeed, has been so identified by Lindblom: "Solomon's sanctuary, on its hill, was a bamah but in the form of a great temple building" (*Israels Religion*, pp. 99f. [translation supplied]). This *reductio ad absurdum*, inherent in the conventional understanding of the bamah phenomenon, suggests that the difference between a "temple" (*hêkal*, *bayit*) and a "bamah" (*bāmâ*, *bêt-bāmôt*) is not architectural.

[3] This discovery completely negates the implicit assumption of many earlier critics that "temples" other than the Temple of Solomon could not have existed in monarchical Israel; it is not at all surprising that the sanctuary-complex was "completely unexpected" by the excavators of the site (Y. Aharoni, "Arad: Roots in the Past," *Ariel*, XXIV [1969], 28). It has been necessary, therefore, to reconcile its existence with Israel's sanctuary nomenclature: see especially K.-D. Schunck, "Zentralheiligtum, Grenzheiligtum, und 'Höhenheiligtum' in Israel," *Numen*, XVIII (1971), 132-140, and Welten, "Kulthöhe und Jahwetempel," 19-37. Both of these studies are flawed by an uncritical acceptance of the conventional open-air hypothesis regarding the bamoth, although Welten does recognize the urban beth-bamoth as a "Tempelhöhe."

Especially problematic is the beth-bamoth which, according to the traditional picture, is reduced to a secondary and more-or-less utilitarian status equivalent to that of the lishkah in 1 Sam. 9.[1] If a bamah is a temple-like installation, however, it seems probable that the beth-bamoth would be the sanctuary building proper.[2] Conversely, the beth-bamoth could be the entire sacred ares in which stood the cult building (= the bamah) and subsidiary "chambers" (= the lishkoth).[3] John Gray has suggested that in many of these passages *bāmâ*/*bāmôt* may actually be an abbreviation of *bêt/bāttê-(hab)bāmôt*;[4] this may be extreme, but we have found no criteria in the texts for clearly distinguishing the semantic content of the two.[5]

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[1] Cf., e.g., Allen, "High Place," p. 383; Moore, "High Place," cols. 2065f.; Robinson, "High Place," p. 679; Schunck, "*bāmâ*," p. 143.

[2] After establishing that *bayit* often is used by Old Testament writers to designate cultic installations for which *hêkal* would be accurate, Schunck refuses to see *bêt/bāttê-(hab)bāmôt* in this light; citing 1 Sam. 9, he concludes that the "house" here is simply a dining-hall ("Zentralheiligtum," pp. 139f.). The fallacy in his reasoning is that the structure in 1 Sam. 9 is called a "lishkah" which 2 Kgs. 17:29ff. suggests served a different purpose than a "beth-bamoth."

[3] This would be consistent with Joüon's judgment of *bayit* and *miqdāš* (see p. 316 note 2 above), and suits the terminological usage in 1 Sam. 9.

[4] Gray, *I-II Kings*, p. 278 (without elaboration).

[5] The distinction between urban battim-bamoth and rural bamoth claimed by Welten ("Kulthöhe und Jahwetempel," especially pp. 35ff.)

The texts which stipulate the location of these bamah installations indicate that they were not rural or rustic hill-top shrines as commonly imagined, but essentially urban sanctuaries.[1] One cannot infer otherwise from the notice in 2 Chron. 21:11a that Jehoram *'āṡâ-bāmôt b^{e}hārê y^{e}hûdâ*, "made bamoth in the mountains of Judah." The reference here is to a general area or region--"the hill-country" (so RSV)--and not to the specific placement of the installations themselves. Similarly, Ezek. 6:3b:

> *koh-'āmar '^{a}dōnay YHWH lehārîm w^{e}lagg^{e}bā'ôt la-*
> *'^{a}pîqîm w^{e}laggē'āyōt hinnî '^{a}nî mēbî' '^{a}lêkem*
> *ḥereb w^{e}'ibbadtî bāmôtêkem;*
> thus says my lord Yahweh to the mountains and
> to the hills, to the ravines and to the valleys:
> Behold, I (am) bringing a sword against you and
> I will destroy your bamoth.

This address is directed to "the mountains of Israel" (vs. 3a), i.e., the land as a whole as distinct from Jerusalem (ch. 5). We are

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is arbitrary and contrary to the textual evidence. The only contextual difference seems to be the fact that the references to battim-bamoth are confined to North Israel (and, if our understanding of Isa. 15:2a is correct, to Moab).

[1] Might not Jer. 2:28b--"your gods are as numerous as your cities, O Judah"--be a reference to the urban bamoth of Josiah's time?

dealing, therefore, with bamoth and other cultic phenomena found throughout the country; 6:3bα is prophetic hyperbole emphasizing the ubiquity of the bamoth, not their individual location. It is significant in this regard that vs. 6α, which many commentators consider to be part of a secondary expansion of vss. 3f.,[1] does imply an urban connection: *b^{e}kol môš^{e}bôtêkem he'ārîm teẖ^{e}rabnâ w^{e}habbāmôt tiššāmnâ*; "in all your dwelling-places the cities will lie in ruins and the bamoth will be desolate."[2]

There is no doubt that hill-top cult places did exist and were patronized by the Canaanite and Israelite inhabitants of Palestine. Hosea, e.g., lashes out at the people who "sacrifice upon the mountain-tops and burn incense upon the hills, under oak and poplar and terebinth because their shade is good" (4:13). Holladay, as we have noted, sees this criticism as the prototype of the phrase "upon every high hill and under every green tree" as a reference to the site of objectionable cultic activity.[3] It cannot be assumed, however, that the reference must be to bamah-sanctuaries.[1] Indeed, the biblical evidence itself argues against this assumption. Of Ahaz it is said:

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[1] Cf., e.g., R. Kraetzschmar, *Das Buch Ezechiel*, HKAT, III, pt. 3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900), 66; Cooke, *Ezekiel*, p. 69; Fohrer, *Ezechiel*, p. 37; Stalker, *Ezekiel*, pp. 78f.; Wevers, *Ezekiel*, p. 67; Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, pp. 92f. note d; Zimmerli, *Ezechiel*, p. 144.

[2] See also Lev. 26:30f.

[3] See Holladay, "'On Every High Hill'," pp. 170-176, and pp. 119ff. above.

> *way^{e}zabbēaḥ way^{e}qaṭṭēr babbāmôt w^{e}'al-hagg^{e}bā'ôt w^{e}taḥat kol-'ēṣ ra'^{a}nan*;
> and he sacrificed and burned incense in the bamoth *and* upon the hills and under every green tree (2 Kgs. 16:4 [= 2 Chron. 28:4]).

Unless the conjunction is suppressed, it is obvious that we are dealing with two cultic loci: bamoth and hill-tops. The distinction is further elaborated in 2 Kgs. 17:9b-10:

> *wayyibnû lāhem bāmôt b^{e}kol-'ārêhem mimmigdal nôṣ^{e}rîm 'ad-'îr mibṣār; wayyaṣṣibû lāhem maṣṣēbôt wa'^{a}šērîm, 'al kol-gib'â g^{e}bōhâ w^{e}taḥat kol-'ēṣ ra'^{a}nan*;

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[1] Albright obviously has Hos. 4:13 in mind when he states that "rustic bamoth were generally located on the hills and under trees, unquestionably for the purpose of catching the cool west wind in summer and of obtaining shelter from the sun" (*Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, p. 104); cf. also, e.g., Wolff, *Hosea*, pp. 85f. It must be emphasized that the *only* indication that bamoth may have been unroofed is this cliché; e.g.: "The Bible speaks time and time again of the 'high places' set in the shade, 'under every verdant tree,' which *proves* that they were open-air sanctuaries" (de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, p. 287 [emphasis supplied]). This is a gross oversimplification of the biblical evidence.

> and [the people of Israel] built for themselves bamoth in all their cities from watchtower to fortified city; and they set up for themselves maṣṣeboth and asherim, upon every high hill and under every green tree.

Bamoth are here regarded as urban sanctuaries separate from the hill-top installations featuring (only?) maṣṣeboth and asherim. It is tempting to see 1 Kgs 14:23--

> *wayyibnû gam-hēmmâ lāhem bāmôt ûmaṣṣēbôt wa-ʾ^{a}šērîm, 'al kol-gib'â g^{e}bōhâ w^{e}taḥat kol-'ēṣ ra'^{a}nan*;
>
> and they [= (the people of) Judah] built for themselves bamoth and maṣṣeboth and asherim, upon every high hill and under every green tree--

as an abbreviated version of this passage. It is not insignificant that on other grounds we have found all three of these passages to belong to the same compositional stratum of the material in 1-2 Kings.[1]

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[1] See Chapter III.G above. 2 Kgs. 17:11a is problematic: *wa-y^{e}qaṭṭ^{e}rû-šām b^{e}kol-bāmôt kaggoyim ʾ^{a}šer-heg^{e}lâ mipp^{e}nêhem*; "and they burned incense there in all bamoth like the nations which Yahweh exiled before them." If *šām* and *b^{e}kol-bāmôt* stand in apposition, this text would contradict vss. 9f., since "there, (i.e.,) in all

This brings us to Ezek. 20:28-29:

wā’^{a}bî’ēm ’el-hā’āreṣ ’^{a}šer nāsā’tî ’et-yādî lātēt ’ôtāh lāhem, wayyir’û kol-gib'â rāmâ w^{e}kol-'ēṣ 'ābōt wayyizb^{e}ḥû-šām ’et-zibḥêhem wayyitt^{e}nû-šām ka'as qorbānām wayyāśîmû šām rêaḥ nîḥôḥêhem wayyassîkû šām ’et-niskêhem; wā’ōmar ’^{a}lēhem mâ habbāmâ ’^{a}šer-’attem habbā’îm šām, wayyiqqārē’ š^{e}māh bāmâ 'ad hayyôm hazzeh; and I brought them into the land which I had sworn by my hand to give to them, and they saw every tall hill and every leafy tree and they sacrificed their sacrifices there and presented their offensive offerings there and sent up their soothing odors there and poured out their drink-offerings there; and I said to them: What (is) the bamah to which you (are) going? And

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bamoth" would refer to both the urban bamoth and the hill-top installations mentioned there, implying that only one type of cult place is involved. This inconsistency and the fact that *šām* and *b^{e}kol-bāmôt* is unnecessarily repetitious--together with the likelihood that this chapter has undergone (at least) a "Josianic" revision--justify following those commentators who regard *b^{e}kol-bāmôt* (which in any event seems grammatically harsh in this context) as a gloss: cf. Stade and Schwally, *Kings*, p. 263; Eissfeldt, "Könige," p. 569; Montgomery, *Kings*, p. 478. Cf. also p. 122 note 2 and p. 147 note 2 above.

its name is called 'bamah' to this day.

There can be no question that the author of vs. 29[1] understood the "cultic" BMH to signify a hill-top cult place. Since the passage purports to define the term, it has been the customary starting-point for reconstructing the bamah phenomenon. Most commentators, however, regard this verse as intrusive.[2] As a secondary addition to the book of Ezekiel, the authority of this exceptional datum may be questioned. The weight of the evidence already discussed suggests that this is a midrashic explanation of BMH in terms of the popular polemic against hill-top worship, coming from a time when the actual signification of the word was no longer self-evident. Vs. 29 marks the end of the biblical testimony about the bamah phenomenon, and the beginning of post-biblical speculation.

If a bamah cannot be identified as a rustic hill-top shrine, we cannot say that bamoth could not have been built on hill-tops. Cities in ancient Palestine commonly occupied elevated ground, and a bamah within the walls of such a city would have also been so situated. We have seen that the city in 1 Sam. 9 was on a hill; that one "ascended" to and "descended" from its bamah could indicate that the sanctuary lay at the urban acropolis. But the possibility also must be considered that the bamah was itself an elevated structure. The Jerusalem Temple, standing upon both a hill and a platform,[1] offers a suggestive parallel, for like a bamah it could be "ascended" to, "descended" from, and "entered," and "within" it cultic activity was performed.

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[1] Various attempts have been made to improve the MT: cf., e.g., Ehrlich, Randglossen, V, 76; Rothstein, "Ezechiel," p. 922; G. R. Driver, "Linguistic and Textual Problems: Ezekiel," Biblica, XIX (1938), 67; J. A. Bewer, "Beiträge zur Exegese des Buches Ezechiel," ZAW, LXIII (1951), 196f.; Eichrodt, Ezekiel, p. 261 note s.

[2] See, e.g., Toy, Ezekiel, p. 72; Rothstein, "Ezechiel," p. 922; Herrmann, Ezechiel, p. 120; Cooke, Ezechiel, p. 220; Fohrer, Ezechiel, p. 113; W. Zimmerli, "The Word of God in the Book of Ezekiel," trans. by J. F. Ross, Journal for Theology and the Church, IV (1967), 7 note 23; idem, Ezechiel, p. 451; Wevers, Ezekiel, p. 151; Eichrodt, Ezekiel, p. 261 note s; Carley, Ezekiel, p. 132.

We have also found reason to question the traditional consignment of the bamah phenomenon to the vague realm of "popular" religion.[2] The interest of Israelite and Judaean (and Moabite) kings in constructing and controlling these installations suggests, as noted above, that they enjoyed an official status of some sort.

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[1] Cf. Ezek. 40:49; 41:8. For a recent discussion, see T. A. Busink, Der Tempel von Jerusalem (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), p. 171.

[2] Thus, e.g., I. Engnell divides "Old Testament Religion" into the "popular" and the "official," the former consisting "primarily of a simple bamah cult, with its concepts" (in A Rigid Scrutiny, trans. by J. T. Willis [Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1969], p. 35). Against the facile use of these categories, cf. Ahlström, Joel, p. 45 note 5.

Hints of an institutional link between the local bamoth and the national shrines of Israel (Bethel) and Judah (Jerusalem)--especially the sharing of priestly personnel--point in this same direction, and raise the possibility that the bamah phenomenon may have been an organ of monarchical government and administration.[1] To fully explore this possibility would require a thorough examination of data outside the scope of this study,[2] and thus must be deferred to another occasion.

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[1] I.e., a religious institution serving to unite the central government with the hinterlands, and to sustain the royal establishment (including the national shrine). Several potentially important parallels, or models, in this area may be noted: e.g., R. P. Dougherty, "Cuneiform Parallels to Solomon's Provisioning System," AASOR, V (1923-1924), 23-65; W. W. Hallo, "A Sumerian Amphictyony," JCS, XIV (1960), 88-96; D. B. Redford, "Studies in Relations between Palestine and Egypt during the First Millennium B.C.: The Taxation System of Solomon," Studies on the Ancient Palestinian World Presended to Professor F. V. Winnett, ed. by J. W. Wevers and D. B. Redford, Toronto Semitic Texts and Studies, II (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 141-156.

[2] E.g., the Levites and Levitical cities, the administrative districting of Palestine, Israelite "tribes" (and "tribal leagues"), offertory legislation. Furthermore, a study of administrative institutions in general and the administrative potential of otherwise religious institutions in particular elsewhere in the ancient Near East (and even further afield) would be needed.

CHAPTER VII

THE ETYMOLOGY OF BMH

Throughout this study we have adopted, as a working hypothesis, the distinction between the "secular" and the "cultic" usage of BMH made in the Greek and Aramaic translations of the Old Testament. We have found the semantic content of the "secular" word to be consistent with Ugar. *bmt* and Akk. *bamtu* (and, indirectly, *bamâtu*), and it is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that they are etymologically related. The "cultic" BMH, on the other hand, has no cognate parallel (except in Moabitic). If there is a connection between the "secular" and "cultic" meanings, the latter must be seen as a secondary and very specialized semantic development of the former. The *a priori* assumption that there *must* be a connection is the basis for the traditional identification of a bamah as a "high place" (see Fig. 1), and for Vaughan's conjecture that a bamah was so called because it was meant to symbolize the mythological mountains (= *bom^{o}tê-’āreṣ*) of Yahweh's theophany.[1] The anatomical signification of the "secular" word invalidates the "high place" hypothesis, and Vaughan's alternative, while not implausible, illustrates the distance which seems to separate the two usages.[1] Given the Greek and Aramaic treatment of the word, this disparity is significant.

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[1] See pp. 13ff. above.

We have already seen that the different spellings of BMH in 1QIsa^{a} conform to the "secular"/"cultic" pattern; the former are written with an o-vowel in the first syllable (14:14; 53:9a; 58:14), while the familiar a-vowel spelling occurs only in the latter (15:2; 16:12; 36:7).[2] Not only does this support the Greek and Aramaic distinction, but it defends the testimony of the MT itself.

The pl. construct of the "secular" BMH occurs in six of the eleven "secular" passages in the MT, thrice as *bmty* and thrice as *bmwty*; the fuller spelling is undoubtedly secondary:

Deut. 32:13: *bmwty* (Sam. Pent. = *bmty*)
Isa. 14:14: *bmty* (1QIsa^{a} = *bwmty*)

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[1] Cf. p. 15 note 3 above. Our findings concerning the mythological import of *bom^{o}tê-'āreṣ* (see Chapter V.C above) suggest that the "coining" of the "cultic" term would likely have occurred before Israel came on the scene--which would explain its use in Moabitic (*pace* Grintz' opinion that it originated in the Moabitic east ["Some Observations," pp. 112f.]). We have already noted that, if Vaughan's hypothesis is accepted, it does not follow that a bamah would have been an altar or platform (see p. 280 and note 1 above).

[2] See pp. 142f. above.

Isa. 58:14: *bmwty* (1QIsa^{a} = *bwmty* 1QIsa^{b} = *bmty*)[1]

Amos 4:13: *bmty*

Micah 1:3: *bmwty* (1QpMic = *[bm-]ty*)[2]

Job 9:8: *bmty*

In each case the Massoretes have vocalized the word *bom^{o}tê* (בָּמֳתֵי).[3] It has long been customary to simply "disregard this view,"[4] but its independent corroboration by 1QIsa^{a}[5] precludes so casual a dismissal. Furthermore, the pl. construct *bmty* implies a pl. absolute **bmtym*, the sing. absolute of which would be **bmt*. On the assumption that there can exist but a single Hebrew word BMH/*bāmâ*--an assumption inherited from the Vulgate--it is claimed, *ex hypothesi*, that BMH/

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[1] Kennicott cites 40 manuscripts reading *bmty* (*Vetus Testamentum*, II, 76).

[2] Milik reads *[bm]wty* (*Qumran Cave I*, p. 77), but the *w* is not visible in the photograph of the fragment (Pl. XV.14 2). Kennicott cites 27 manuscripts which read *bmty* (*Vetus Testamentum*, II, 274).

[3] Contrary to Vaughan (*Meaning*, p. 59 note 26), the form is written with a methegh only in Micah 1:3.

[4] W. Gesenius, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, trans. by E. Robinson (Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1836), p. 155. Cf. S. R. Driver and G. B. Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Job*, II, ICC, XV (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921), 55f.

[5] Cf. M. Burrows, "Orthography, Morphology, and Syntax of the St. Mark's Isaiah Manuscript," *JBL*, LXVIII (1949), 198f.; Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, p. 369.

bāmâ can take a second pleonastic plural termination.[1] This explanation, while not impossible, attempts to force the textual evidence into agreement with the premise that we are dealing with only one word; the evidence itself suggests, prima facie, that two words are involved: a "cultic" BMH/bāmâ and a "secular" BMT/ *bōmet.

Albright's derivation of BMH, Ugar. bmt, and Akk. bamtu/bamâtu from a proto-Semitic *bahmatu is likewise predicated upon the belief that the "secular" and the "cultic" meanings are different aspects of a single Hebrew word belonging to this etymological family. He maintains[2] that the ah of *bahmatu quiesced to produce ā in the first syllable of the attested forms; since this should have become ō in Hebrew, the retention of ā in bāmâ/bāmôt is to be attributed to "dialectal phenomena." Although widely accepted,[3] this reconstruction is open to question. As evidence that BMH did undergo the ā > ō shift Albright cites the o-spelling in 1QIsa^{a}, but he fails to note that this spelling attests to the pronounciation of the "secular" BMT/**bōmet*; there is no evidence here or anywhere that the "cultic" BMH/*bāmâ* was ever pronounced with an initial *ō*. Albright's hypothetical **bahmatu* might account for **bōmet*, but would necessitate an *ad hoc* explanation for *bāmâ*. To even be considered, however, **bahmatu* would have to satisfactorily account for the cognate words as well. Since the vocalization of Ugar. *bmt* is unknown, everything depends upon Akk. *bamtu* and *bamâtu*. Albright represents the initial vowel as *ā*--the essential requisite for his *ah* > *ā* argument--yet neither von Soden's *Handwörterbuch* (which assumes *ā*) nor *CAD* (which assumes *a*!) gives a transcription which would indicate unequivocally that the quality of this vowel is long.[1] Although these samplings may not be exhaustive, they seriously weaken the credibility of **bahmatu*.

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[1] The customary authority is Gesenius, Kautzsch, and Cowley, Hebrew Grammar, pp. 244, 280.

[2] See pp. 6f. above.

[3] By, e.g., Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography, I," p. 302; idem, Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology, p. 9; Koehler and Baumgartner, Lexicon, I, 130f.; Barr, Comparative Philology, p. 323; Schunck, "bāmâ," pp. 139f.; Vaughan, Meaning, pp. 22, 25.

The pl. construct *bom^{o}tê* may be compared to such formations as *'oh^{o}lê* (Num. 16:26; etc.); *to'^{o}mê* (Cant. 7:4), *qodšê* (Lev. 22:15; etc.), and *ḥodše* (1 Chron. 27:1; etc.), suggesting that BMT/**bōmet* is a *qoṭl*-type segolate noun.[2] As an alternative to **bahmatu*, we may derive **bōmet* from a proto-Semitic noun **bumt* (cf. **qudš* > **qudeš* > *qōdeš*) and ultimately from a bi-consonantal root *BM. This would be consistent with the traditional derivation of *bāmâ* from *BWM. Vaughan admits that *BWM and **bahmatu* are "equally justifiable" explanations; he opts for the latter only because in accepting *BWM he would have to deny an etymological link with Hebr. *b^{e}hēmâ* and Ugar. *bhmt*, the semantic content of which ("animal, beast") appears to be a further development of the anatomical idea conveyed by the other words under discussion.[1] This is not necessarily the case, however. Albright observes in another connection that the insertion of a secondary *h* in weak verbal stems is a not uncommon phenomenon.[2] A precedent for *b^{e}hēmâ*/*bhmt* < *B(W)M is provided by Ugar. *nhmmt* (14 KRT .4.32, 34) which is undoubtedly related to Hebr NWM, "to sleep" (cf. Isa. 5:27);[3] note also should be taken of Ugar. *bhtm* as a pl. form of *byt*, "house."[4] It would appear possible, therefore, to include these words in the same etymological family as the "secular" BMT/**bōmet* and Ugar. *bmt* without postulating an ancestral **bahmatu*.

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[1] Vaughan adopts Albright's reasoning here but, interestingly enough, consistently represents the initial vowel of the Akk. terms as *a*.

[2] Cf. W. Weinberg, "The *Qamāṣ Qāṭān* Structures," *JBL*, LXXXVII (1968), 156f. and note 15.

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[1] Vaughan, *Meaning*, p. 22.

[2] W. F. Albright, "The Names SHADDAI and ABRAM," *JBL*, LIV (1935), 203.

[3] Cf. recently Fensham, "Remarks on Keret 26-43," pp. 43f.

[4] Also (but rarely) *bwtm*; see *UT*, pp. 371f.

Akk. *bamtu* is more problematic, for its initial a-vowel cannot be accommodated to an original **bumt*. An exact congruence is perhaps not to be expected, however, for we have seen that while its Hebrew and Ugaritic counterparts signify the dorsal portion of a human or animal torso, *bamtu* very likely refers primarily to the ventral portion of a torso.[1] The semantic and phonetic differences could be the result of independent East- and West-Semitic derivations (**bamt* and **bumt*, respectively) from a common source *B(W)M.

If the "secular" BMH is really BMT/**bōmet* and is tied semantically and etymologically to these other Semitic words, what is the status of the "cultic" BMH/*bāmâ*? It could be related to the "secular" term through *B(W)M. Semantically, however, such a hypothesis is not very helpful, for the "root-meaning" of *B(W)M which these two derivatives would share can be suggested only *ex hypothesi*. There is nothing in the biblical usage of the "cultic" term to indicate why a bamah was so called. The author of Ezek. 20:29 clearly did not know, for his etymological guess consists of an unimaginative and uninformative pun (*bā'* + *mâ* = *bāmâ*);[2] this is significant, for the range of possible word-plays which might have been employed is extensive (e.g., bānâ : bāmâ; rāmâ : bāmâ; *bōmet : bāmâ).[1] Strictly speaking, therefore, the "cultic" BMH is semantically "opaque" and seems to have been recognized as such at the close of the biblical period; it would be methodologically inappropriate, therefore, to supply a derivational transparency through etymological guesswork.[2] One must, at least for the moment, regard the "cultic" word as an "opaque" termus technicus for a particular type of sanctuary installation in biblical Hebrew and Moabitic.

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[1] See Chapter IV.A and IV.B above.

[2] Cf. p. 382 note 1 above.

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[1] It is all the more interesting that the author chose to explain bāmâ in terms of a verb meaning "to enter" (although its exact signification here is syntactically ambiguous [see Chapter II. A above]).

[2] For a discussion of these concepts, see J. Barr, "The Image of God in the Book of Genesis: A Study of Terminology," BJRL, LI (1968-1969), especially 17f.

ABBREVIATIONS

AASOR	*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
AB	Anchor Bible
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ASTI	*Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute*
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*
BK	Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZAW	*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
CAT	Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
EHAT	Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament
GLECS	*Comptes Rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'Etudes Chamito-Sémitiques*
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HR	*History of Religions*
HSAT	Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testamentes
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*

HUCA. . . .	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
JANES . . .	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*
JAOS. . . .	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JNES. . . .	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JRAS. . . .	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
KEHAT . . .	Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament
KHCAT . . .	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament
LXX	Septuagint
MT.	Masoretic Text
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studiën*
PAAJR . . .	*Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*
PEFQSt. . .	*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*

PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
RB	*Revue Biblique*
RHA	*Revue Hittite et Asianique*
RHR	*Revue de l'Historie des Religions*
SBOT	Sacred Books of the Old Testament
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SEÅ	*Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok*
SVT	*Supplements to Vetus Testamentum*
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*

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